POVERTY AND POLITICS IN MEXICO CITY, 1824-1854

BY

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
1975

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

[illegible] single debt is to my wife [illegible] [illegible] drew and supported us in comfort during the long years of work. I am also indebted to Professor Lyle N. McAlister of the Department of History for encouraging me to undertake a difficult project and to Professor Sugiyama Iutaka of the Department of Sociology for introducing me to the rudiments of statistical sampling and quantitative analysis that set the dissertation on its proper course. I would like to thank Roberta Smit who labored long hours editing and typing the reams of indecipherable copy provided to her. Finally I would like to express my gratitude to the University of Florida Rugby Club for providing a well-needed outlet for the fury of pent-up aggressions.

PREFACE

[redacted] originated [redacted] three [redacted] 84). The *Léperos*, according to [redacted] class of idle urban vagrants readily distinguishable from the honest laboring poor. During the course of the research it became apparent that the *léperos* did not exist as a class apart from the laboring poor and that crime and vagrancy were structured into lower class life. The dissertation was consequently expanded into a study of the entire pattern of urban poverty.

Most sources consulted were documents preserved by the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México. Although traditional methodology was employed to analyze the data, reliance was also placed on quantitative data processed into the format of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences and analyzed by computer. The two sources of computerized data are the 559 cases heard by the Tribunal de Vagos between 1828 and 1857 and the municipal census of 1849. The vagrancy cases comprise all the completely recorded and full vagrancy cases existant and are supplemented by 336 uncomputerized

ministerial census hereafter the Juzgado de Primera Instancia of Cuarteles Menor 17 in 1852 The results jurisdictions included the barrios of Maxaneque and La Palma notorious lairs of the semiprincipal lépperes

The census of 1849 counted only 120,000 inhabitants of a city whose population approached 200,000 Those excluded from the census were the poor who like their European brothers feared the census taker as the harbinger of the tertulias sergeant and the tax collector The census also counted a population disturbed and dislocated by war with the United States (1845–1848) Despite the uncertainties, the census reflects important lower-class characteristics

The census of 1849 has two advantages over the preceding census of 1842 It directly indicates the habitation of each individual making the determination of household composition possible The census also lists the monthly rent of each habitation Throughout the dissemination mean monthly rent is assumed to be an indicator of the economic status of the capital occupational groups

The analysis of the census required sampling techniques Sixty sample blocks were selected randomly from the capital's 246 officially designated blocks One out of every six adult males fifteen years of age or older were chosen from those residing on the sample blocks, and information entered on 1,384 cards The 1,366 names collected comprise a random sample of the adult male population

[illegible] sample of adult males and their households [illegible] lect all characteristics of a population 57 per cent female and possessing an extremely large number of matrifocal households. For this reason, reference to 'sample population' applies only to the adult male population. Details on the characteristics of the general population were obtained through analysis of the populations of the barrios of Necaxtitlán and San Salvador el Seco. The reader is notified when this information is used.

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JUNE 1975

Chairman Lyle N McAlister Ph D
Major Department History

The dissertation examines lower-class life in Mexico City during the first three decades of the republican period (1824-1854) It explores fresh ground with the aid of criminal records, census data, and modern techniques of computer analysis and in the process it disproves some traditional assumptions

The poor were a polyglot mass of artisans, unskilled laborers, and their families, varying in subsistence income or less They numbered 80 percent of the capital s population Twenty-seven percent of them were internal migrants mostly artisans from the large cities of the Republic

Marxist historians have grossly distorted the capitalistic oppression of the era Artisans labored in numerous

[illegible] to [illegible] unempl[illegible] capitali[illegible] appr[illegible] were the [illegible] g classes

Ill cl[illegible] ill[illegible] and ill-fed and surrounded by filth, the poor were wr[illegible]edly unhealthy Convulsions produced by fevers slaughtered the infants At least one third of all recorded deaths were of children below the age of three Respiratory and gastrointestinal diseases carried off the adults Epidemics ravished metropolitan proportions In 1831 and 1850 cholera took over eleven thousand lives in less than a month Assaulted by disease, the population stagnated Deaths exceeded births, and the heavy flow of immigrants barely replaced the natural population deficit

The national government provided no services to the poor but was a predator insatiably craving money and men Judged by the standards of the times, the municipal system of public charity was a dismal failure, for the hospitals poorhouse and public school system withered for lack of funds Only the orphanage, supervised by a private junta, operated humanely and efficiently

Popular religion was a medley of superstitions and dogma scorned by educated Catholics The Church itself criticized its ignorant and vulgar character Nineteenth

con of [illegible] charged that the Paris clergy oppressed the poor excessively high burial and baptismal fees. Moderate rates prevailed in the parishes. The free sections of lower-class sufferings were a municipal sanitary regulation forbidding burials in the parish graveyards and the high fees of municipal cemeteries administered by the archbishopric.

The archaic system of law enforcement and criminal justice failed to cope with the crime and vagrancy attributed to lower class life. Popular opinion held that the hospital's *légères* were a permanent criminal class distinguishable from the honest laboring poor. In reality the *légères* were a fluctuating cross-section of the poor reduced to idleness and crime by unemployment.

The poor had little interest in political factions or ideologies. They became politically active only when Federalist tribunal politicians exploited their frustrations or caught their attentions by a rationality of hero worship. Dwelling on the margins of political life, the attachment of the poor to any cause was fleeting. Clanked in stoic indifference, they witnessed the downfall of every regime that their rioting brought to power. Downtrodden by economic depression and by government exactions, they abandoned their early attachment to the Republic.

[redacted]

[redacted] the Valley of [redacted] might have described [redacted] white jewel set in a field of [redacted] interspersed with blue. North of the city began the [redacted] rising plain that led to the fertile Bajío and the [redacted] of Celaya, Querétaro, and Guanajuato. Lake Texcoco, [redacted] of unrelenting drainage schemes by colonial viceroys, [redacted] miles from the city's fringes to the east. The [redacted] of salts left by the lake's evaporation had [redacted] the eastern approach into a barren [redacted] contrasted sharply with its surroundings

Bearing south [illegible] upon the [illegible] called Xochimilco [illegible] pleasure gardens of the Aztec emperors Southwestward the land rises to the forested slopes of Chapultepec Hill, whose majestic cedars once shaded the diversions of the Aztec nobility Further west the verdant fields surrounding the villages of Tacubaya and Azcapotzalco bore witness to the fertility of the Valley of Mexico Eight broad aspen-shaded roads led to the garitas (metered customs houses) which rimmed the city Whitewashed adobe walls reflected brilliantly in the sunlight [1]

The distant beauty of Mexico City was a façade for its treacherous location The Valley of Mexico lay astride the gigantic earthquake zone that extends the length of North and South America Frequent tremors, although moderate disrupted city life and the nerves of superstitious inhabitants During the earthquake which struck Mexico City at noon on St Cecilia's Day in 1840, half-naked people ran into the streets, fell to their knees to take communion, terrified by the sight of swaying towers, fountains disgorging their waters, and the apocalyptic pealing of church bells. [2]

Earthquakes were a minor seismic nuisance compared to chronic flooding The capital sits atop the former basin of shrinking Lake Texcoco. [3] During the nineteenth century's summer rainy seasons, daily showers deposited an annual average of twenty-four watery inches [4] There were two varieties of flooding First summer showers quickly saturated the marshy subsoil

and crammed flesh flanking [illegible] all-drained central plaza, water could [illegible] The sacred variety was more serious. A [illegible] rotsy seasons would cause the water table [illegible] and eastern suburbs became shallow lakes [illegible] by [illegible] Throughout the years an [illegible] dampness pervaded the entire city.[7]

Fanning through the [illegible] ugly [illegible] thrust itself upon the eyes of the visitor. The distinct impression of loathsome was overwhelmed by the grimy, pollutud marshes that ringed the city and retreated into the suburbs.[8] The human element was appalling. In 1847 George Buxton, an English manufacturer was struck by the

> regularity of the streets, the chaste architecture of the bulldings, the miserable appearance of the populatue, the downcast look of the men, the phenomena of extraordinary display of wealth and the prevalence of filth which everywhere meets the eye.[9]

These impressions were not confined to fleeting Englishmen. In 1851 the capital's ugliness dampened the spirits of a young Salvadoran (native of Jalteca)

> In a little while we entered twisting alleys with wretched hovels inhabited by filthy old women, grimy children and drunken *léperos*. The coach made its way through mountains of trash thrown carelessly in the sides of the road and bordering the drains scattering the dogs

> that worried the endaver of any dead animal that showed to be in the road. The coach advanced farther, and I was surprised by houses much taller than I was accustomed to see in Guadalajara, but as sad, on looking in color, and of life. that it astonished me that such a beautiful sky could shelter such a gloomy landscape. We had arrived in Mexico City.[10]

The garrison enclosed a quadrilateral extending roughly two miles north and south, and three miles east and west. A nineteenth-century map of Mexico City reveals the typical rectangular grid of the Spanish colonial city. At its center was an enormous plaza, the Plaza de la Constitución. Broad, straight avenues running north-south and east-west of the central plaza formed a grid that intersected the entire city. Scattered throughout the city, usually at the intersections of the larger streets, were ninety-seven lesser plazas and *plazuelas*.[11]

The siting of important public facilities followed the centripetal logic of city designers. The Plaza de la Constitución was the ceremonial, political, and administrative center. Occupying the place of honor on its northern side was the Catedral Nacional, the cathedral church of the Archdiocese of Mexico. On the eastern side, the enormous Palacio Nacional served as the formal residence of Mexico's rulers, the hall of the national congress, and an office building for most of the national bureaucracy. Directly opposite the Catedral stood the buildings of the *ayuntamiento*

[illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] pattern [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] as an [illegible] older by [illegible] tion Prior t[illegible] [illegible] h perish and the tradi[illegible] [illegible] n barrio (neighborhood) served as basic administ[illegible] ts and were difficult to police because of size [illegible] few arranged civil divisions an a logical [illegible] them to manageable size After 1781 a hierarc[illegible] np[illegible] officials policed every unit of the system [3]

The quarters were artificial creations having only administrative significance The traditional residential divisions recognized by the general population were the Teoxa (old Spanish quarter) and the ancient Indian barrios The historical roots of these divisions were embedded in the Aztec and early colonial past The Spaniards constructing Mexico City over the ruins of Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capitol, segregated their Teoxa from those barrios of the surviving Indian population The Teoxa formed a rough square centered upon the main plaza that measured 1,400 by 1,400 yards It was a fortified sanctuary against a potentially hostile Indian population Expanded over the centuries, the final boundaries enclosed all important government and church buildings, Spanish industries, and central markets [23] The barrios were remnants of a complex tribal organization During Aztec times the city was divided into four *campilli* (districts) within which resided one of the four Aztec tribes [24] Each *campilli* had four *campitecos* (subdistricts)

pleces ex t[illegible] f clan de t[illegible] specialized economically and their barri[illegible] tions as the hasne of distinctive traits [illegible] ivenmaith ing feather working, at pottery making [illegible] tained the barrios whenever their boundari[illegible] d not infringe -ped the Traza Surviving *capillas* and *cofradias* be[illegible] rel gious *doctrinas* wherein missionaries propagated the faith and parish churches and chapels replaced pagan altars [illegible] Hospitals monasteries, prisons, and garbage dumps were located in the barrios [27]

There were many changes from conquest to independence The Traza's military function became an anachronism, and mestizos replaced Indian as most urban [28] Economic specialization derived from the needs of a European-based city The barrios served as administrative units during the early years of independence Unlike the barrios of other Latin American cities they had a rectangular center and boundaries [29] The population identified itself with its traditional barrio rather than the *manzana* Suspected criminals and vagrants referred to their barrios when giving addresses, and the legal addresses on wills or other public documents around barrios rather than *cuarteles* [30] In 1823 the *ayuntamiento* organized the inscription of civic militia by barrios [31]

In all cities of Spanish colonial design, the construction of government buildings and main market in the

center [illegible] promoted the geographical and social concentration of population and industry. Although the garrison lay no far as three miles from the central plaza, the buildings clustered two miles east-west and one and three-quarters miles north-south.[33] Concentration of the population was more intense than the clustering of the buildings indicates. A circle of 1,000-yard radius, whose center was in the middle of the Plaza de la Constitución, would enclose over two thirds of the population counted in the census of 1847.[33] The desirability of residence near the center lured people to settle even the swampy land on the southern and eastern fringes.

The numerous facilities of the Traza integrated the city socially and economically. The Plaza de la Constitución was important as a ceremonial and political-administrative center and is discussed as a separate unit. The peasant and the Marqueses[34] prayed together at the Catedral Metropolitana daily Masses. The poor, however, were excluded from more important religious rites.[34] On Easter Sunday the announcement from the Catedral that Christ had risen signaled by artillery salvos and church bells triggered joyous city-wide celebrations. On Corpus Christi Sunday processions organized by every civic and religious corporation--and led by the president, his cabinet, the *ayuntamiento*, and the diplomatic corps--would march separately to the Catedral. After the Mass, the procession accompanied by as many as forty thousand spectators would parade through the principal streets.[35]

The Plaza [illegible] was also a secular [illegible] 17 Independence Day [illegible] for locals to be surrounded by [illegible] festive atmosphere. After [illegible] and musicians would [illegible] ing of revelry.[36]

[illegible] la Constitución was the political n[illegible] the city. During the [illegible] 1837 and 1841 it filled with mobs of [illegible] demanding price controls [illegible] and grocery stores.[37] [illegible] ed in the Plaza to be [illegible] into action by irate politicians. In front of the [illegible] buildings of the *ayuntamiento* on November 31 1844, the public reading of the Plan de Jalapa ignited popular rioting that resulted in the overthrow of General Santa Anna.[38] In 1845 republican politicians within the Palacio Nacional harangued a mob to the violent overthrow of the monarchist *ayuntamiento*.[39]

The Plaza was the commercial center for shops catering to the wealthy. Expensive watch and jewelry shops clustered under the Portales de los Mercaderes in its south western corner and on the nearby Calle de los Plateros.[40] The Parián, a collection of stalls surrounded by wooden walls, occupied the southwestern corner. Before 1828 it was an emporium of imported merchandise famous for clothes

that excited stylish young men and women. Its strongboxes contained their owners' capital and substantial savings depositz belonging to prosperous merchants and professionals.[41] After its sacking by an angry mob in 1624 Revolution of the Acordada, its wretchedness, in grossly reduced circumstances ended more as locally produced goods.[42] The Parián remained until demolition in 1843 a dilapidated eyesore, its name a synonym for mob terror.[43]

The Plaza de la Constitución was a spectacular scene for the populace. During a normal day, as many as 4,000 idlers surveyed the ornamentation of public and private buildings.[44] On moonlit nights citizens attended the spectacular journey enjoying the play of moonlight on the Cathedral's twin spires and the magnificent view of snow-capped Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl. The wealthy paused for refreshment at the cafés and pastry shops on nearby streets. The poor refreshed themselves with purchases from the enthusiastic vendors who filled their trade within the square.[45]

Outside the main square were two buildings of significance to the political life of Mexico City--the Ciudadela, crumbling, fortress like arsenal and the Acordada, foreboding nocturnal prison--close together on the western fringes of the city. The Ciudadela provided emplacements with a convenient source of weapons. The clandestine movement of troops or ammunition into it always heralded the approach of a pronunciamento.[46] Artillery duels between the Ciudadela

and the Palacio Nacional took their heaviest toll from among the civilians residing between the two buildings. During the attempted overthrow of President Anastasio Bustamante, in Valentín Gómez Farías in July 1840 180 civilians were killed and more were mutilated by indiscriminate cannon fire.[47]

The Acordada, a few hundred yards north of the Ciudadela, contained men willing to serve any cause for the price of a pardon.[48] The prison itself was a center of conspiracy.[49] In late November 1828, Lorenzo Zavala and his fellow York Rite Masons plotted the fateful Revolution of the Acordada that prevented President-Elect Manuel Gómez Pedraza from taking office and launched Mexico into a half century of political chaos.

The Alcaldes, according to Guillermo Prieto, the city's best-known memorialist, were "as plebian as smallpox":

> The heavy traffic of mules and carts through the great gates. The heaps of hides left for inspection in the broad patios; the bewildering noise of hammers and crowbars; the customs inspectors, schedules clutched tightly in hand, examining levelers, discovering irregularities, and arguing with proprietors and clerks, and the multitude of laborers, mule skinners, clerks, and money changers who penetrated the offices.[50]

The activity imparted a bustling mercantile character to the Alameda and the adjoining Plaza de Santo Domingo.

[redacted] d vegetable market in the Plaza del Valadez was over fifty years old, in an advanced state of disrepair, and so notorious as a meeting place of evildoers that in 1843 the city recommended its demolition.[51] The market, however, remained until 1863 when it was replaced by the enormous Mercado de la Merced.[52] The aristocracy of the market consisted of merchants who rented its rotting wooden stalls. The most common merchant, however, was the Indian who sprawled upon a filthy blanket with his wares, clogging the market's passageways and entrances.[53] Stall holders complained that the Indian merchant, who operated illegally, blocked traffic and harmed business.[54] Decrees of the ayuntamiento banning the Indians from the market place were never enforced. Throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century, the decrepit stalls and blanket stands of the Plaza del Valadez offered such a variety of meat and vegetables, at such economical prices, that rich and poor alike sought their provisions close to [redacted].[55]

The Baratillo located in the Plaza del Factor, 100 yards northwest of the central plaza, was the Rag Fair or Petticoat Lane of Mexico City. Farmfigures noted the many odds and ends to be purchased at the Baratillo, but failed to notice its principal business, the sale of the secondhand

lothing th[illegible]d the poor [illegible]

once of the outlyi[illegible]xies; the market was the c[illegible] [illegible]

entrepôt for stolen goods[57] Its customers and merchants were well represented among the defendants tried daily before the city's magistrates Its merchants were so unruly [illegible] Discontented with the location they once boldly moved their stalls to the Plaza de Santo Domingo Only the arrival of overwhelming forces convinced them to return to the Plaza [illegible]erior[58]

The Plazuela de San Juan specialized in selling cheap to poor people[59] Other markets scattered throughout the city specialized in the sale of lime, poultry, maize, and building materials[60] Mexicans boasted that a person looking for any item had merely to ask for the location of the appropriately named street[61]

Poor Mexicans preferred to live close to their place of work At least 40 percent of the vagrancy suspects who gave both their own addresses and those of their employers lived two blocks from their place of work Such localism made the barrios of the independence period self-sufficient Typical barrios like San Salvador el Seco and Nacatitlán were poor containing a few small grocery stores a public bath if the neighborhood lacked an aqueduct or fountain, a pawnshop or two, and a wine or pulque shop[62] Artisans worked in their homes or in a few larger workshops Certain industrial or commercial specializations existed San

contained a large carriage manufacturing business[43] San Jnee Cacdelerie ced Santa Anne were metropôte for the provisioning of the city San Jean'e plaza specialized in building materials. Candelerie'e ie fowls and Santa Anea'e Calle Real was the central distributing point for pulque.[44]

Residents mentioned much hatrim with a distinctive personality Sweem Anee, athwart the great earth saath road, was naturimus for high-living mrrimms (anle skteners) and highwaymen frequented its many inns[45] San Sebastián and El Carmée, relatively close to the center of the city had romance-smittee accountrenses rakish public eesehmee and augmeta, ced ludustrious artisans telling ie the siegle room that served as bedroee and workshop The eastern terrace of San Lázaro La Soledad La Palea ced Mozanares and the *pouleche* ced *lépares* during regees who lived in the proceede of casual labor and petty crime In the western barrios of San Pablo Sue Antonio Abad, ced Salta del Agua, beetese, impoverished elmrke, ced women cigar makers worked and played Thm inhabitants of thm extreme southemetmre horrlen bordering the trash dnaps and the Cementerio de Campo Florida were wretched scavengers who subsisted on offal[46]

Thm barrio'e plaza, often filthy and obstructed ms the only recreational center[47] Thm Plaza de Necatitlán and an area fronting the Garlte de Peroville accommodated

alten for [illegible] carnival-lik[illegible]es and impromptu *corridas* (bullfights) [68] Gabriel Berry, a French resident, witnessed one Plaza de Toros (bullfight) *corrida* which drew 12,000 spectators [69] More skilled *corridas* were held in the municipal bull ring at the Plaza de San Pablo, conveniently close to the Castro *Corridas* were held there until 1851 when General Santa Anna inaugurated his last regime by erecting a new ring west of the city Attendance at San Pablo was usually 11,000 [70]

The most popular form of recreation was strolling in the fresh air of the city's pastoral outskirts The Alameda, a spacious park on the western fringes, was thickly planted with elms [71] On fiesta days it was crowded with ladies in carriages, gentlemen on horseback, and pedestrian *léperos* South of the Alameda and endowed with its pleasant rusticity was the wealthy suburb of San Cosme where Fanny Calderón de la Barca resided the Scottish-American wife of Spain's first ambassador to Mexico, whose published letters and diaries have revealed as much of the capital's society

The broad avenue of Bucareli led to the slopes of Chapultepec and was a favorite for equestrians and pedestrians

> Every evening, but more especially on Sundays and fete days, which last are nearly innumerable, from four o clock until six or seven may be seen two long rows of carriages filled with ladies, crowds of gentlemen on horseback, riding down the middle between the carriages soldiers at intervals attending to the preservation of public order and multitudes of common people and *léperos* mingled with some well-dressed gentlemen on foot [72]

The pleasant paseo (promenade) was forced to [illegible] the sight of garroted highwaymen mounted for public display.

The pastoral footpath and canal of the Paseo de la Viga on the southeastern fringes of the city were famous for beauty of tree and flower

> Two long lines of carriages are to be seen coming and going as far as the eye can reach, and hundreds of gay pleasure are assembled on the sidewalks with flowers and dulces for sale, and innumerable equestrians in picturesque dresses mad with spirited horses fill up the interval between the carriages and the trees mounting the canal, the Indians singing and dancing lazily as the boats float along, and under a blue and cloudless sky and in that pure, sweet atmosphere [74]

At the pratil of Belén in the southwest, poorer people desired to the harp and guitar of sidewalk musicians [75]

The upper classes of a city known for the absence of an ostentatious display of wealth took exception to flaunt their wealth on the paseos. Fanny Calderón de la Barca commented the modest dignity of the carriages owned by the older families with the gaudy luxury of those owned by wealthy speculators at smuggling. The equipage of one prosperous smuggler consisted of a gold-embroidered saddle cloth with gold bells and a saddle covered with velvet and richly embossed with massive gold worth $5,000. Noting the wealth of the equestrians and the poverty of the pedestrians

remark that Mexico was not [illegible] was no connecting link between the blankets [illegible] between the puppies and the diamonds"[76]

Economy

Mexico City's economy produced goods and services by [illegible] methods for its own use. The only commodity exported to the nation at large was an ineffective government. The government, however, was one of the capital's largest employers. The centralized and conservative Plan de Tacubaya (1841) projected the employment of 690 civil servants.[77] The more representative federal government of 1851 employed [illegible] civil servants. 856 if one counts the salaried congressmen.[78] The number of employees was larger because it was common for government departments to hire *agregados* (unauthorized, unlisted personnel). The national bureaucracy was augmented by at least 100 employees of the *ayuntamiento* and 150 employees of the archbishopric.[79] The census of 1849 indicates that about 3 percent of the male labor force were employed by the national, municipal, or ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

The government's importance to the economy transcended that of being the largest employer.

Trade, industry, mining, agriculture were secondary to the financing of government operations. The federal government had to depend on merchants to finance a budget of 10 to 20 million pesos a year. Due to the discount on government bonds, profits of 400 percent could be made. Mercantile loans, in contrast, varied from 12 to 24 percent a month.[88]

Because the city's largest financiers and merchants invested heavily in government securities, the credit structure of industry and commerce depended upon government solvency.

Commerce and industry employed the bulk of the capital in proprietors. Most enterprises engaged in retail commerce. Table B-1 shows that frequently listed among the 2,872 businesses on the commercial census of 1843 were *tendajones* and *tendejones de mistureros mestizos* (small grocery stores) which sold food and drink. *Carbonerías* and *carnicerías* (charcoal and butcher shops) were the second and third largest classes of enterprise. Most commercial enterprises were small and produced minimal profits. Table 1 shows that the net annual income of several common types of businesses was $200 or less. The low income is understandable, it took but $20 of capital to operate a small but successful clothing store at the Portín.[89]

Industrial production employed mostly 40 percent of the adult male population. Joel Poinsett, the United States' first ambassador to Mexico, reported in 1822 that the capital hummed with the activity of its numerous workshops producing

everything from eighth to coaches despite a decade-long battle for independence.[82] The branches of the Junta de Fomento de Artesanos (Committee for the Advancement of Artisans) listed in Table 2, were the most important and technically advanced industries. Table 6-2, based on the industrial census of 1843, lists the sixteen most common industries. The most numerous--carpentry, shoemaking, food processing, tailoring, and textile manufacturing--account for 34 percent of the total. The sixteen largest categories account for only half of the total number of industries on the entire census.

A few textile factories were modern by the standards of the early Industrial Revolution. Five of the thirteen workshops listed as factories by the Junta de Fomento de Industria in 1843 used equipment powered by steam, animals, or water. Jan Bazant, historian of Mexico's early textile industry, estimated each factory employed an average of 200 workers for a total of 1,000 workers.[83] Other industries were large scale and heavily capitalized but did not use modern machinery. A bakery might be capitalized at $8,000 to $15,000 and employ fifty operatives.[84] The Estanco (government-operated tobacco factory) employed from 400 to 1,000 men and women.[85] Seamstresses, tailoring, shoemaking, and textile workshops employed too many workers for their owners to recognize by name.[86]

[illegible]sacdm of to l[illegible]e *pblicos* (small workshops) [illegible]d the bulk of the capital's industrial produc- [illegible][88] [illegible]rding to a survey conducted in 1844, seventy- [illegible] [illegible]ry shops employed an average of two officials [illegible] [illegible]tion.[89] Twenty-three employed no one, and [illegible] not employ apprentices. Thirty workshops listed on the industrial census of 1849 employed on average of three journeymen.[90]

Capital invested in plant and equipment was generally small by the standards of nineteenth century industrialized Europe. Table B-4 gives the $48 inventory of a carpentry shop confiscated for debt in 1851. The thirty shops on the industrial census of 1849 show an average capital expenditure of $49, but the largest seem had substantial investments over $1,000.[91] Only 30 percent of two thousand industrial enterprises on the census of 1843 were valuable enough to be assessed a direct tax.[92]

The economy of the city was in an advanced state of decay and would remain so for a half-century. General depression afflicted a nation wracked by wars of independence (1810-1821) and by the severance of traditional economic ties. In 1844 protectionist and essayist Mariano Otero examined the plight of the once prosperous colony. Mining, the farmer source of wealth and the most promising export industry, languished due to the wars of independence. A [illegible] of mercury and the frequent paralysis of trade

caused by revolutions. Sufficient foreign capital could be obtained to revive it because foreign investors feared Mexico's political instability and because wealthy Mexicans wanted potential capital as imported luxuries or invested in speculative government securities. Without the stimulus of the mining industry, the nation seemed trapped in a vicious cycle. Mexico was largely agricultural but its agriculture produced only simple crops for a local market. Agriculture needed increased demand from the cities in order to expand. This hinged on the growth of urban populations which could not increase without industrial development which was impossible without the capital generated by the mining industry. Consequently, backward urban industries produced crude products for a local market, and processed foods and many agricultural raw materials were imported from abroad.[12]

The economic depression quickly followed independence. In 1823 the capital's merchants complained to the government:

> Nobody can hide from the fact that it [commerce] is but a shade of what it was in the past. Many of the stores selling Asian and European goods, and even those selling the principal agricultural products of the country, have closed entirely or have been converted into teller shops, cafés, pastry shops, or butcher shops. What large stores remain of the many whose existence merchants considered to be an indispensable condition of commerce? Where is the enormous capital that they once generated? With the exception of a small amount that stands out be-

[illegible] it is no more, most capital is already pledged to pay outstanding debts [illegible] or amount of capital has left Mexican [illegible] into Spanish owners

In a word, the nonsense of Mexico City is not the same as it formerly was due to the advantage of specie resulting from the failure of the mines. The amalgamation of the pious funds and the inability of the treasury to pay the military show that it owes to the foreign creditors, and the army. And when the debts are paid in copper coins or paper scrip that foreigners will not accept in payment for imported merchandise the mercantile sector is paralyzed [illegible]

The evils evident in 1823 intensified over time [illegible] political instability harmed the capital's economy in the long run and the short run. Every revolution temporarily foiled commerce and industry even when street fighting did not occur. If an army cut the government's link to the port of Vera Cruz, whose customs duties were the principal source of revenue, the government failed to meet its obligations, and commercial credit disappeared.[94] Measures to restore the economy after a revolution often proved counterproductive. To revive the commerce harmed by the Revolution of September 1841 General Santa Anna suspended the payment of all debts contracted between August 31 and October 7. Until payment resumed one month later, commercial credit disappeared and the economy halted.[95]

The *Semanario Artistico*, weekly newspaper of the Junta de Fomento de Artesanos, presented this editorial on the effects of revolutionary crises on artisanal industries

[illegible] especially or [illegible] seem that threaten not only [illegible] but those of their fam[illegible] Disorders produce the same effects [illegible] affecting the public confidence [illegible] prosperity when they do not dry up the sources of work. The epidemics are less execrable and less dangerous for the speculative than the [illegible] political crises because the epidemics terrorize the people of life but do not pose [illegible] work.[96]

[illegible] political instability fed on government bankruptcy [illegible] other than connected economy. Every revolution [illegible] war created a budgetary crisis as expenses rose and the customary sources of revenue disappeared.[97] The closing of the ports of Vera Cruz during the Pastry War with France in 1838 cost the government $5 million. To cover expenses, it minted worthless copper money or took out loans at extraordinarily high rates of interest.[98] From 1825 the deficit in the treasury became permanent. Table 3 shows the gap between government revenues and expenditures for the years 1844. To pay off its creditors (expenses), the government gave them control of the customs houses and further diminished its revenues.

The repayment of government bonds harmed the economy by withdrawing large amounts of funds from commerce and industry.[99] Failure to repay the bond holders meant that commercial credit, largely in the hands of the capitalists, disappeared. The Semanario Artistico noted that the government bankruptcy of 1844 produced "the paralysis of business, public

misery, and private necessity within a nation worthy of a better fate [100]

Bankruptcy affected the bureaucracy through reduced salaries and threatened unemployment. As early as 1825, unpaid civil servants bartered the government for their salaries. By 1831 the discounting of civil-service salaries was common place.[102] At the beginning of Valentín Gómez Farías's vice presidency (1833), retired military personnel, pensioners, and civil servants had not received their pay for six months.[103] By 1834 most civil servants were on half-pay or receiving discounted salaries. To discount salaries and to default on payment was the rule throughout the decade of 1840.[104]

To pare expenses, the government laid off personnel. The first-known reduction in force occurred in 1828, and the practice persisted at least until 1850.[105] Although one is inclined to believe that the dismissed employees were promptly rehired or replaced by others, the constant threat of dismissal made the economic standing of the civil servant precarious.[106]

The black humor of the era mocked the bureaucracy's impoverishment. The first requirement for a robust civil servant was that 'he must accept with a good will a salary as scarce as it was poorly paid.'[107] Another wag commented that

> a devoted servant of the nation will have to take the bed with the good. After all, it's not impossible for a man to support his family on five pesos a month.[108]

Table C-1 contrasts bureaucratic salaries with the average yearly earnings of the artisans listed in the industrial revenue of 1845. The average civil servant's salary of $1,080 is over seven times the wage earner's annual income of $156. The bureaucrats, along with some 200 lawyers and doctors, possessed the potential of a prosperous middle class whose demands for goods and services might have invigorated the otherwise restricted and depressed economy. The *Semanario Artistico* listed the impoverishment of the bureaucracy as one of several causes in the chronic industrial depression.[109]

The minting of worthless copper coinage damaged the economy. The coinage, first struck in 1824, circulated throughout the three decades of Independence. Its issuance stimulated, and inevitable devaluation produced cycles of inflation followed by depression. The copper real was officially valued at $.25 and intrinsically worth $.125. It was very easily counterfeited. In 1841 only one tenth of the daily operating needs of the Hospital de San Hipólito was in legal tender; the remainder was counterfeit.[110] During the devaluation of 1841, only 7 of the 700 pesos collected at the national mint were genuine.[111] Counterfeiting ensured the real would of the coinage to plunge to $.0625. The manipulation of speculators who purchased huge quantities of the copper money in hope of an advantageous later redemption caused the value of the currency to gyrate wildly.[112]

The circulation of a currency "enormous in quantity,

caused [illegible] contracts [illegible] manage fall drastically storekeepers refused to be paid in it. Instead the small merchant, especially the owners of the small grocery stores patronized by the poor, issued currency carved from soap, wood or other materials. A desperate government would pass legislation requiring that the public pay at least one tenth to one quarter of all business transactions in copper money.[114]

Devaluation was the last resort. The devaluations of 1837 and 1841 only aggravated the plight of the economy. At the very rumor of devaluation, stores--particularly bakeries, butcher shops, and groceries--would close to avoid the accumulation of the worthless coins. The government passed laws forbidding closure and required that food and other articles of primary necessity be sold at low prices. The suppliers of food, who lived outside the jurisdiction of the municipality. Frustrated the laws by refusing to sell their products to the shopkeepers for anything but silver. Months before a devaluation date, shops remained open with nothing on their shelves.[115]

The law required the merchants to turn in their stocks of copper money to the government on the promise that they would be repaid in new currency within six months. This premature deprived merchants of operating capital, profits,

TABLE 1

ANNUAL INCOME OF COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, 1848

Enterprise	Income in Pesos[a]
Warehouses	
6	1,200
10	970
12	720
33	500
30	240
Imported-clothing wares	
10	400
4	300
13	200
13	100
11	50
Grocery stores	
3	800
7	600
8	500
20	400
45	200
83	100
91	50

SOURCE: AAGM, tomo 2021, exp 68

[a]One peso was equivalent to US$1

TABLE 2

[illegible] DE JUNTA DE [illegible]

Carpentry	Silversmithing
Blacksmithing	Watchmaking
Weaving	Purse making
Toiletries	Lithography
Shoemaking	Brass working
Carriage making	Pottery making
Tinsmithing	Sculpturing
Painting	Architecture (construction)
Barrel making	Button making
Leather working	Piano making
Embroidery	Goldsmithing
Copper working	Gunsmithery
Tanning	

SOURCE "Fomento de las artes." *Semanario Artistico* 9 agosto 1844 p 3

TABLE 3
MEXICAN BUDGET, 1844

Income	$25,905,348
Budgeted expenses	25,336 430
Foreign and domestic debt	10 000 000
Additional revenue required	9,431 082

SOURCE Agustín Cue Canovas, *Historia social y economica de México (1521 1854)* (Mexico, D F , 1963), p 168

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONAL-CATEGORY/MEAN-RENT CORRELATION

[illegible]ation	Mean Rent	% Population
[illegible]er	$24	26
[illegible]an[a]	5	42
[illegible]ified	3	23
[illegible]men	--	9
Total number of cases	1,009	

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1949, AACH, cases 3409, 3413.

NOTE: $ signifies pesos unless otherwise indicated. Because Mexican currency is divided into eighths and because the computer calculates by decimals, the mean rents contain a small negative error.

[a]Foreign artisans included.

TABLE 5
COMPARISON OF THE MEAN RENTS OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE TRAZA AND BARRIOS

[illegible]ass	Traza	Barrios
Upper	$27	$16
Artisan	9	2
Unskilled	4	2
Total number of cases	1,009	

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1949, AACH, cases 3409, 3413.

TABLE 6

[illegible]IONAL CATEGORIES OF NATIVES OF MEXICO [illegible]
INTERNAL MIGRANTS, AND FOREIGNERS

	% Mexico City	% Internal D F	% Interna States	[illegible]
Upper	24	20	22	
Artisans	47	27	43	
Unskilled	23	42	31	
Unknown	7	11	4	
Total cases	1,339			

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1849 AACM tomos 3409, 3413

TABLE 7
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES BY SPECIFIC GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN

Area	% Total Population	% Upper	% Artisan	% Unskilled
D.F.	2	20	27	42
Guanajuato	2	35	35	24
Hidalgo	3	30	23	43
Jalisco	1	33	33	33
México (estate)	5	12	39	37
Michoacan	2	14	55	27
Puebla	3	27	50	12
Querétaro	2	17	55	17
San Luis Potosí	1	25	33	42
Vera Cruz	1	13	60	7
Oaxaca, Colima Chiapas, Nuevo Leon	1	41	24	24
Unidentified	4	23	23	39
Total cases 352				

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1849 AACM, tomos 3049, 3413

TABLE 5

[redacted] ORIGINS OF [redacted]

State	% Migrants	
D.F.	4	
Guanajuato	8	[redacted]
Hidalgo	12	Pa[redacted] Real del Mont[redacted] Tulancingo[redacted] Apan
Jalisco	3	Guadalajara
Mexico	74	Toluca Texcoco Zumpango
Michoacán	6	Morelia Zamora Sitacuaro
Puebla	11	Puebla
Querétaro	8	Querétaro Celaya
San Luis Potosí	3	San Luis Potosí
Vera Cruz	5	Jalapa Vera Cruz Orizaba

Total cases 357

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from the [redacted] of 1849, AAGN, tomos 3409, 3413

TABLE 9
COMPARISON OF MEAN RENT BY ORIGIN AND OCCUPATION

Origin	Upper	Artisan	Unskilled
Mexico City	$22	$ 3	$ 3
D.F.	6	3	1
States	16	3	3
Foreign	34	45	1/
Unidentified			10
Mean for each category	2/	5	3
Mean rent for Mexico City	$10		
Total cases	1,009		

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1849, AAGM, tomos 3409, 3413

TABLE 10
MEAN RENT BY SPECIFIC ORIGIN BY OCCUPATION

Origin	Upper	Artisan	Unskilled
D.F.	7	3	2
Guanajuato	30	3	3
Hidalgo	11	3	4
Jalisco	18	4	1
México (state)	30	2	2
Michoacán	14	3	3
Puebla	19	2	2
Querétaro	15	4	2
San Luis Potosí	22	1	1
Vera Cruz	34	11	2
Other	7	4	2
Total cases	352		

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1849, AAGM tomos 3409, 3413

[illegible] 1841 [illegible] merchants [illegible] to [illegible] business rather than place their money in the hands of a government whose promises they considered worthless [116]

Devaluation did not check the use of copper money The coinage of 1837 was replaced by one equally overvalued [117] Some the counterfeiters were at work insuring that the new money was as worthless as the old [118] As late as 1853 copper money was in circulation, wreaking havoc upon the commerce of the city [119]

Foreign manufactures both those permitted by special licenses and those smuggled, crippled Mexico City's economy From 1824 to 1828 Mexico experimented with a policy of unrestricted free trade whose net effect was to depress native industry, particularly textile manufacturing [120] The results of free trade, according to its critics, were the near extinction of the cotton textile glassmaking and hat making industries After 1828 a restrictive tariff policy permitting the entrance of goods that native artisans did not manufacture, but forbidding the importation of goods that competed with native manufactures, lasted for twenty years [121]

Governments in straitened circumstances granted special permits to import prohibited goods in hopes of receiving extra revenues These exemptions from protectionism hurt the economy of the capital In 1841 the government of General Mariano Arista granted a permit to import cotton thread in

expectations of receiving $170,000 of extra customs revenues. Upon ratification of the proposed importations, the nation's textile manufacturers printed a petition warning that the measure would force the closure of the native-owned mills.[122] The ayuntamiento sprang to the defense of this important sector of the local economy by printing a petition stating that the measure would "deprive the miserable classes that unfortunately abound in our country of any hope or relief."[123]

The illegal introduction of contraband did serious damage to the economy of the city. Although the inability of the government to enforce protectionism was evident from the inception of the policy, smuggling reached blatant proportions by 1840. In 1841 the ayuntamiento estimated that the amount of contraband thread entering the country would surpass the 8 million pounds of legally imported thread.[124] Factories near the coast became illegal way stations where smuggled textiles were marked with the national stamp. In 1844 the government ordered the closure of coastal factories and the public burning of seized contraband.[125] After 1847 Mexican protectionism became a dead letter as the North American administrators of the ports of Matamoros, Tampico and Vera Cruz granted the laws and allowed a flood of contraband to enter the country.[126]

Contraband easily found its way into Mexico City. In 1841, 1842 and 1843 *Siglo Diez y Nueve* and *Semanario Artístico* launched campaigns to denounce and seize the contra-

hand in the capital [illegible] nal industries was stated in a petition which 6,124 artisans sent to the ayuntamiento in 1851. Because of contraband the artisans complained, many workshops closed and others hovered close to bankruptcy

> Our children and our wives lack bread, and the government cannot separate our necessity from any other social need. Bread is bought with money, money is earned by work, and there is no work due to the indiscrete and illegal introduction of foreign merchandise [128]

The direct competition of foreigners also damaged the Mexican owned sector of the economy. Article 6 of the Constitution of 1824 permitted foreigners willing to convert to Catholicism the same civil rights and legal protection granted to Mexican citizens [129] The flow of foreigners into the capital was substantial. In 1844 over 420 foreign artisans entered Mexico through the port of Vera Cruz [130] Although destinations were unlisted, a substantial number settled in Mexico City. Charles Latrobe, a North American tourist, reported in 1833 that 'many foreign artisans have of late settled in Mexico City' [131] The census of 1843 counted 1,230 foreigners; or 10 percent of the total counted population [132] In the census of 1849 they numbered 6 percent of the population. Twenty-two percent of the foreigners counted in 1849 were artisans

The [illegible]algnats possessed a reputation for technical excellence and reliability. Their popularity with the upper and middle classes had two effects on the capital's economy. Foreign-operated industries pushed aside those operated by Mexicans, and foreign artisans replaced Mexicans in an economy of severely constricted opportunities. In 1845 a master blacksmith lamented his inability to employ more journeymen because 'the art of blacksmithing is much reduced in this capital.' He could sell 'only balcony rails and insignificant remnants,' and customers preferred to patronize "the foreigners for these trifles."[133] The effect on native journeymen is stated with simple eloquence by José Hernández, a twenty-one-year-old shoemaker arrested for vagrancy in 1835:

> Why have you dragged from my aged mother the comfort of her old age? For better or worse by my craft of shoe-maker working here or there, I support her existence. You will ask me in what workshop do I work, and I respond that in the workshops of distinction I have not worked because most of them are foreign. And there, when they hire Mexican journeymen, want those that have a decent exterior, and late has not permitted to me the appearance to work in them; so that all that is left to me is to work among the *tinemexes* [those that lack a public workshop], and that, Sir, is my misfortune.[134]

Ill-feeling caused by direct competition with the [illegible]ers resident in the capital led to efforts to ban

[illegible] city day unnoticed by the government and the public and that "it was notorious that the streets of the city were flown with foreign shops." The foreigners, they alleged, did not fulfill the obligations of Mexican citizenship and left the city as soon as their fortunes were made.[135] The *ayuntamiento* concluded after a full legal examination of the issues that it was powerless to take any action. In 1843, however, public outcry was so great that the government of General Santa Anna temporarily and regretfully banned the aliens from commerce.[136]

People

Estimates of the capital's population ranged between 150,000 and 160,000 in 1824 and between 176,000 and 200,000 in the 1840s and 1850s.[137] All estimates lacked an accurate census upon which to base calculations.[138] The upper and middle classes were a heterogeneous assortment of independently wealthy, prosperous merchants, financiers, industrialists, professionals and civil servants. This group will be referred to in the future as the upper classes. They numbered 7% percent of the sample population of 1849.[139] [illegible] the bias of the census favored them, their percentage [illegible] the actual population must have been lower.

An enormous mass of laboring poor were readily identifiable to the wealthy who described them as "miserable people," "unhappy people," "the needy class," and other phrases descriptive of poverty. In 1841 *Siglo Diez y Nueve* defined those as the poor artisans and wage laborers who in the best of times normally managed to eat and half dress and who now were reduced to beggary.[140] This is a splendid working definition and it is only necessary to amplify its realistic brevity. The laboring poor were journeymen artisans, unskilled laborers, street peddlers, and domestic servants, and their families, earning a subsistence income or less. In 1841 their numbers were estimated to be 160,000 or 80 percent of a total population of 200,000.[141]

Ommeslagly, cultivated Mexicans used the archaic term *plebe* to denigrate the poor. *Plebe* literally denoted all those engaged in retail commerce, manual labor, and menial occupations.[142] Prosperous retail merchants had not been considered members of the plebs since the sixteenth century.[143] By the nineteenth century the word denoted two groups, the artisans and the *plebe infima*. Artisans were skilled craftsmen whose importance to colonial society was acknowledged by their incorporation into legally recognized and self-regulating *gremios* (craft guilds).[144] Forty two percent of the semple population were artisans.[145] The *plebe infima* literally meaning the lowest portion of the plebs, were a polyglot mass of unskilled workers, street

[illegible] *pepelacha* [illegible] the late [illegible]al period estimated the pl[illegible]te e emount to 80 [illegible]cent of the entire population.

The *pepelacha* was the same 'pose and idle [illegible] half caste Mexicans' that foreigners called *léperos*.[148] Although their definitional centrality varied [illegible] foreign estimates of the percentage of *léperos* in the population [illegible] mated that of the traditional *pepelacha*. Henry Ward, th first British ambassador to Mexico, reported that "twenty thousand naked *léperos*" existed in the capital's close to its dependence and the consequent importation of cheap British textiles.[149] Joel Poinsett, his North American rival, esti mated the same number to lack fixed residences or a means of support in 1824.[150] A quarter-century later a Prussian consul using unspecified criteria estimated that 25 percent of the population were *léperos*.[151]

The division of Mexico City's society into an upper class and a plebe reflects a valid occupational hierarchy supported by economic status. Table 4 compares the size and mean monthly rent of each occupational group. The mean rent of the upper classes was five times that of the artisans and six times that of the *pepelacha*. The rent paid by artisans was 40 percent higher than that of the unskilled. Revenue

[illegible] ry the h[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
petional [illegible] riteristi[illegible]

Although *plena* [illegible] as a system of occ[illegible] obscures rather than [illegible] re[illegible] Artisans did consider themselves m[illegible] a single group united by a skilled craft but great differences in wealth and interest separated the master artisan who owned his shop from the journeyman whom he hired In the eighteenth century, the masters waged a long, bitter and losing struggle to prevent employees from starting their own small businesses [152] The differences dividing the two groups were apparent References to *artesanos* in the official correspondence of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries did not signify *master artisans* [153] The final abolition of the *gremio* in 1824 the vehicle through which the master exercised his legal monopoly on trade, temporarily muted the conflict between master and journeyman Republican references to *artesanos* denoted both *masters* and *journeymen* Important differences, however, persisted There existed an unbridgeable gap between the world of Lucas Balderas owner of a fashionable tailor shop specializing in military uniforms--the permanent inspector of the municipal & civic militia and former regidor of the *ayuntamiento*--and the world of Luis Ortega, journeyman tailor who received materials from a public workshop to complete at home and who frequently worked as a waiter to make ends meet [154]

[illegible] was a greater gap between [illegible] than [illegible] ...ncaeers (street-corner artisan) who squatted outside the ...sas *de vecindad* (apartment house), enticing customers with parodies of French fashions.[155] Because of high economic and social status, master artisans cannot be included within the Republic's plebe.

A more serious objection to the use of *plebe* in ...l to the criminal or vagrant connotations of the terms *plebe infame* and *populache*. An article appearing in the *Museo Mexicano*, a cultural publication of the period, demarked the traits associated with these elements. The males, who performed occupations requiring "brute instinct rather than skill, earned scarcely enough to support their necessities which happened to be drinking and smoking. When unemployed, which was frequently, they spatherlessly dozed in the shade or borrowed anything worth pawning. An audacious one would become a pickpocket, expert at lifting scarves or watches during church services or public spectacles. When caught he was usually released to commit greater crimes. As for the women, they could be seen in the streets scrounging for discarded fruits, cigarette or cigar butts, and drinking mescal in the doors of wine shops.[156] The upper classes considered the most profligate artisan to be superior to any member of that degraded class.[157]

Foreign descriptions of the *léperos* are very similar to Mexican descriptions of the *populache*. Gabriel Ferry wrote of his *lépero* acquaintance:

[illegible] [illegible]unemployed teamster, street [illegible] peddler—the *ldpero* is always- [illegible] at different times. Although he is often a thief, he is sub- [illegible] to thievery. If he earns in [illegible] morning enough money to live for a day he stops working immediately. He has no capacity to save money. Unemployed he idly awaits a new turn of fortune.[158]

[illegible]erry also said:

> He fulfills alternatively all types of trades. But he is a born thief and spends by instinct. His life reminds in a long series of altercations with justice that covers him with misfortune.[159]

In 1862 the pen of Guillermo Prieto, the period [illegible] famous memorialist, immortalized the *ldpero* as the modern [illegible] evil hero who made love, fighting, and pulque the stuff [illegible] life. Shunning armed robbery as crude, the *ldpero* displayed native guile by fleecing his victims through ingeniously contrived frauds.[160] Prieto's memories had mellowed perhaps his contemporaries considered the *ldpero* a social menace. They believed *ldperos* ldleness to be at the root of the crisis that plagued the capital. Brantz Mayer, a North American diplomat, described the relationship of the *ldpero* a life style to crime with a flair for colorful detail

> ... the canals around the markets ... [illegible] ... those miserable ... [illegible] ... hang all day long, feeding on ... [illegible] ... quarreling, drinking steadily and lying drunk about the pavements ... their children crying with hunger around them. At night they slink off ... [illegible] ... these suburbs and call themselves up ... [illegible] ... lamp pieces of their loire to ... [illegible] ... off the effects of liquor and to ... [illegible] ... to another day of misery and crime ... [illegible] ... wonderful in a city with an immense ... [illegible] ... population of its inhabitants of such a ... [illegible] ... class (hopeless in the present and the future) that these are murderers and ... [illegible] ... robbers."[161]

... quantitative data point out that the unskilled ... workers did not merit their unsavory reputation ... percent of all suspected vagrants were artisans ... most heavily represented were masons, shoemakers, tailors, and weavers. Twenty-nine percent of all suspects were unskilled workers, peddlers, servants, street porters, and ... boatmen were the most heavily represented. The Tribunal de Vagos showed little prejudice against the unskilled, convicting 17 percent of their total number and 16 percent of the artisans. The Tribunal tended to convict large numbers of tailors, weavers, street porters, and boatmen.[162]

In Cuatro Menor 17, 73 percent of all male criminal suspects were artisans and 27 percent were unskilled. Masons, weavers, tailors, and carpenters were the most heavily represented craftsmen, street porters and wax chandlers were the most numerous unskilled workers. Seventy percent of the

[illegible] convicts criminal [illegible] artisans and the remainder, unskilled workers. The court convicted disproportionately large numbers of women, weavers, shoemakers, and carpenters.[163]

Mexican and foreign reports leave no doubt as to the existence of a criminal and vagrant *populacho*. If the men arraigned before the Tribunal de Vagos and the Juzgado de Policía Instantia were representative *léperos* or members of the *populacho* the composition and nature of the class require redefinition. Not a permanent group of penal workers distinguishable from artisans by lack of skill or disinclination to work; and dishonesty, the *populacho* was a representative cross-section of the poor driven to vagrancy and crime by unemployment and underemployment. Membership fluctuated with the fortunes of the economy; because of continual economic depression, its size was always large.

A problem of contrasting social perceptions arises. In 1876 Nicolás Zamacois, a Mexican historian, objected to the common use of the appellation of *lépero* to designate the lowest portion of the Mexican plebe. Zamacois explained that

> In Mexico the word *lépero* is not applied to anybody because he belongs to the lowest class of the plebe, he can belong to that and not merit the qualification as long as he occupies himself in some honest work. *Lépero* signifies truly an individual of low moral sphere who does not work at all, whose manner of living is unknown, and in whom all the vices centre. Thus it is that among the most humble people of society, the word is applied only to he who commits a very inconvenient act.[164]

The historian's opinion is supported by the absence of *lépero* from the recorded testimonies of thousands of accepted vagrants and criminals consulted during the course of research. It appears as an official document in 1843 when a hurried junior official complains that 'one cannot remain indifferent to the disorders that the *lépero* commits'[165] In private publications before 1843, *lépero* and *pepenacho* appear only during the course of political polemics. Both terms are found more frequently after 1845 when economic, political, and military collapse aroused fears of social unworthy among the upper classes.

The rare use of *lépero* supports the view of Robert Wilson, a visitor from the United States, that *lépero* was an extremely derogatory slur to designate the poor during the colonial period.[166] The word disappeared from the vocabulary after the 1828 Revolution of the Acordada when lower-class rioters made their presence felt in republican politics. Foreigners learned of the word by reading the account of Giovanni Francesco Gemelli (1651-1725), a Neapolitan visitor to New Spain who originated the term, or by hearing it used in private conversations with wealthy friends. The word, however, experienced the same unpopularity that *nigger* experienced in modern North American society.

Foreigners and the upper classes perceived a degraded class of criminals and vagrants whom they believed to be unskilled or menial laborers. The holders of such occupations

never thought of themselves in such terms In the streets the lowest peddler walled himself maestro [illegible] tar.[147] The meanest adolescent mandadero (errand boy) hauled before the Tribunal de Vagos would protest to the magistrates that he possessed an oficio (skilled craft) No peón del albañil (unskilled construction laborer) would ever admit to being less than an oficial del albañil (journeyman in construction). The waiter employed at the fashionable Café de la Unión or the driver of the municipal trash wagon considered himself to be no socially distant from the unskilled construction laborer or the street paver as the wealthiest financier from his most junior clerk.[148] In the depressed economy of Mexico City, any occupation, no matter how menial, gave its holder a certain degree of status

Marked patterns of residential segregation separated the plebs from the superior The wealthy occupied the driest were convenient central districts of Mexico City while the poor resided on the wettest fringes The area enclosed by a circle of five-hundred-yard radius, with its center at the middle of the principal plaza, contained 17 percent of the population Within that circle the upper classes numbered 35 percent of the population; artisans 32 percent, and the unskilled 25 percent The mean rent of the area was $23 compared to the mean municipal rent

[illegible] forty-five percent [illegible] to upper-class category; 41 percent were artisans and 13 percent were unskilled. The mean rent of this area was $8. The industrial census of 1843 manifests wealthy businesses clustered in the central area. The interior circle contained 32 percent of the city's inhabitants; the government assessed taxes at 55 percent. The outer ring contained 68 percent of the industries; the government assessed taxes at only 21 percent however.[169]

The archaic separation of the Spanish Traza from the Indian barrio left an indelible mark upon the social distribution of the population. The boundaries of the Traza delineated two cities. One was 'worthy of being counted among the most beautiful in the New World.'[170] The other city of the barrios was a city 'of mud, of clogged, stinking sewers, of unlit streets' in which "human misery was revealed in the most cynical publicity.'[171]

The census of 1843 demonstrates the extent the Traza differed from the barrios. The population of the random sample was evenly divided between the two areas, but because of the bias of the census, the population of the barrios exceeded that of the Traza. The Traza's occupational composition was 37 percent upper, 33 percent artisanal and 22 percent unskilled. That of the barrios was 15 percent upper, 50 percent artisanal and 22 percent unskilled.[172] Economic division between Traza and barrio was evident within the occupational

divisions themselves. Table 3 compares the [illegible] mean rents paid by members of the occupational [illegible] residing in the two areas

Twenty-four percent of the Traza [illegible] private homes, 20 percent in apartments, 19 [illegible] *casas* (multibuildings), and 32 percent in single [illegible] barrios. 11 percent lived in private homes, 9 [illegible] in apartments, 10 percent in *accesorias*, 62 percent in single rooms, and 6 percent in shacks. The mean rent of the Traza habitations was $18; that of the barrios was $4. The Traza included 81 percent of the persons employing servants and 83 percent of the empirical or foreign residents.[173]

The poor of Mexico City were readily identifiable as mestizos.[174] Lucas Alamán, the Mexican statesman and historian, explained the relationship of race to social position when he wrote of the colonial castes:

> From them also came the trusted servants of the country and in the city. Having much facility and much ambitiousness they examined all the crafts and the mechanical arts, and in sum one could say that from them came the labor that was employed in every trade.[175]

Legal racial discrimination existed in the colonial [illegible] in the last two decades of that era. However, it had become such an embarrassing anachronism that legal witnesses [illegible] purchased and officials were extremely perfunctory

[illegible] students of [illegible] [illegible] understanding [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Table 7 depicts occupations of migrants from the individual states and the Distrito Federal. Large percentages of artisans came from Puebla, Querétaro, Mexico, Michoacán and Vera Cruz. Large percentages of unskilled came from Hidalgo, México and San Luis Potosí. Although the percentages of migrants in the two lower occupational categories approximate those of the native Mexicans, migrants were disproportionately represented among weavers, domestic servants, hatmakers, street porters, water carriers, and charcoal vendors.

Table 8 gives the urban origins of the migrants. Seventy percent came from the states bordering the Distrito Federal and Guanajuato, Querétaro, and Michoacán: urbanized and economically developed areas. The majority came from the large cities of the states. Only 4 percent were natives of the rural villages in the Distrito Federal.

Depressions in home states drove migrants to the capital in search of work. Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Querétaro were devastated during the wars of independence (1810-1821) and were then afflicted with the depression associated with the collapse of the mining industry.[178] Puebla, Querétaro, and to a certain extent México suffered from the depression of the textile industry, produced by the Republic's early experiment with free trade (1821-1823) and by the flood of contraband that followed later prohibitory tariff policies. The *Semanario Artístico* explained the fatal lure of the capital

Mexico [illegible] center o[illegible] ll
artis[illegible] detivit[illegible] racting many opr[illegible]
tiuos that seeme fio[illegible]r nt pieces where
they have left their [illegible]kshops believing
that they will find [illegible] abundant work
Nevertheless the depressed state, in which
unfortunately on [illegible]ent manufacturing
industry, has not been able to provide occu
pations to everybody, and the privations and
the quickening of hunger prudence the infli
nation to steal In former times it was
very rare to find an artisan among thieves [illegible]

Francisco Lopez Cámara, a mexican historian, and Torcuato D Tella, a sociologist, projecting into the past the difficul[illegible] experienced by modern internal migrants in finding work, [illegible] assumed that nineteenth-century internal migrants were the primary component of the *lépero* population [180]

Some migrants were suspected of being less respectable than well-intentioned seekers of work Mexico City, according to a report of the *ayuntamiento*, was the "concourse of vagrants' from all over the Republic [181] The Ministro de Relaciones Interiores (internal ministry) feared that the city was a sanctuary for men on the run who disappeared amidst the numerous population and confusion of persons These men 'without craft or any honest occupation' were a material ever disposed towards tumults and disorders '[182]

Vagrants and notorious criminals certainly must have existed among the migrant population, but the quantitative evidence indicates that the migrants were no more prone to crime than natives of Mexico City Thirty eight percent of

the suspected vagrants we [illegible] of Mexico City. The Tri[illegible] against the migrants. N[illegible] of the convicted vagrants w[illegible]

Migrants were not [illegible] represented among the criminals. Fifty-five percent of the criminal suspects were natives of Mexico City and the remainder were migrants. The percentages of natives and migrants among the criminal suspects are about the same as those of the sample blocks within Quartel Menor 17. Fifty-eight percent of all convicted criminals were natives and 42 percent were migrants.

The dire consequences of migration described by the *Semanario Artístico* and supported by the conclusions of López Cámara and Di Tella may never have occurred. Table 9 compares the mean rents of migrants with those of natives. Except for unskilled workers from the Distrito Federal, migrants and native Mexicans in the two lowest occupational categories paid almost identical mean rents. Table 10 breaks down the mean rents of the migrants by their specific origins. Those from Vera Cruz, Querétaro, and Guanajuato paid higher rents while those from the Distrito Federal, México, Puebla, and San Luis Potosí paid lower rents.

The migrants settled throughout the city. The random sample does not show any statistically significant concentrations of migrants on any one block or area of the city. There is evidence, however, from the barrios of San Salvador el

[redacted] os migrant populatio[redacted]ected to 37 and 26 percent [redacted] ic respective gamaral populations Only 15 and 13 percent respectively of the barrios' married migrants were married to native Mexicans The conclusion that the low percentages of migrant native marriages indicate a lack of social integration must be tempered, large numbers of migrants undoubtedly arrived in Mexico City already married

The laboring poor were largely sedentary Mexico City lacked a "floating population" of seasonal laborers from the countryside of the type that swelled the ranks of the Parisian poor during the eighteenth century [183] Unless driven into the capital by famine or peace wages, the Indians of the surrounding rural villages preferred to stay home rather than experience an alien and unfriendly culture [184] It is unknown whether these refugees became permanent residents or returned as soon as conditions at home improved Even the vagrants were sedentary Ten percent of all suspected vagrants and 18 percent of all convicted vagrants admitted to frequent absences from Mexico City or prolonged residences during childhood in other cities However, 50 percent of the suspects and 47 percent of the convicts had lived in Mexico City for at least ten years

The labor histories of vagrancy suspects show a small but significant number of journeymen migrating from and to the city whenever economic conditions merited A

[illegible] between the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] distant In the late [illegible] period indebted journeymen escaped their masters by fleeing to Puebla 'to hide amid the many corners of that populous city "[185] Puebla's popularity persisted among republican artisans Agustín Saldivara, a potter, was born in Mexico City, served his apprenticeship in Puebla, and returned to his place of birth where he found employment at a public workshop owned and staffed by former poblanos (natives of Puebla) [186] Jesus Dávila, a seventeen-year-old woman server, traveled regularly between Mexico City, Puebla, and "various other places" in search of work [187]

Others traveled farther afield Guillermo Canales a carriage maker, went to Zacatecas where he worked as a coachman He then moved to Guadalajara where he tried his hand at glass blowing [188] When Mariano Ramírez saw his trade of sweet making declining after 1826, he and his wife journeyed to Durango where he found employment as a mahogany maker, and she as a cook Like the others they eventually returned to Mexico City [189]

The willingness of native artisans to travel in search of work together with the presence of a large body of migrants within Mexico City, reflects a homogeneity of urban culture that softened the disruptive effects of migration The urban laboring poor possessed some knowledge of economic conditions outside the confines of their milieu and perhaps a regional rather than a regional identity

Catastrophes would force people to [illegible] or to [illegible] within the city. References in the proceedings of the Tribunal de Vagos lead me to suspect that the cholera epidemic of 1833 caused mass flight. The occupation of Mexico City by the United States Army caused massive dislocation of the population. After the withdrawal, municipal administration could hardly function because of the general depopulation and the redistribution of the survivors within the city.[190]

The miserable people were not highly regarded by the upper classes. The "low" people were said to have vicious habits, live in idleness, and lack social respect. Their religion was an aggregate of superstitions that degraded true faith. They were commonly differentiated from the upper classes by the explanation that they acted according to the instincts of brutish animals rather than the rationality of man.[191] Mariano Otero summarized the base regard for the urban lower classes:

> Their common origin [with the Indians] the contact that they have through forming the same class, and the segregation of the mechanical arts and industry has resulted in preserving within them the same ignorance and brutishness as the Indians; their mansion in the cities has served for no other purpose than to infect them with the vices of the upper classes whom they mimic. The vices, developed by the savage character of the population, degrade them doubly because of their barbarous stupidity.[192]

The unmerited uncertainty of the unskilled and menial workers has been noted. The upper classes also showed little regard for the artisans who were supposed to be the misfortune of the miserable people in the late colonial period. Viceroy Revillagigedo (1789-1794) criticized the journeymen for their general lack of education, their consequent imprudence and the one thousand defects that abound in them.[193] José Fernández de Lizardi's *El periquillo sarniento* a social remedy of the last decade of colonial rule, humorously portrayed the opportunities of a European boy to a craft as an unthinkable social disgrace.[194] Mariano Otero related that unsuccessful artisans would not allow their sons to enter crafts preferring to obtain employment for them in the civil service or to educate them for a life of leisure.[195] Although Otero's observations could describe occupational prejudices in the United States, he was examining a social prejudice noticeable to his contemporaries. After observing Mexico City's artisans, Robert Wilson concluded that they were degraded and lacked the social respect their counterparts in the United States received.[196]

The era's progressives condemned the traditional disrespect for manual labor, however, they criticized the journeyman's ostracized inefficiency. Their thinking is reflected in an editorial appearing in *Siglo Diez y Nueve*. The editors regretted that although disrespect for the artisan was not as great as it once was, it still existed and criticized those

wrong-thinkers who snubbed all Mexican manufactures in favor of imported merchandise. Nevertheless, it criticized the journeymen for their lack of punctuality, requests for advances in wages, slothfulness, and an addiction to pulque and gambling. The editors did not wonder that masters preferred to employ foreigners.[197]

The artisans' poverty created its own reasons for complaint. José María Lafragua, a republican freemason, criticized the urban lower classes for their vices and their inability to defend Mexico:

> Our people are divided into two classes--the mixed race and the Indian. The first is vice ridden and, above all, is in general that class from which the artisans come, who can only serve in the national guard for the defense of a city.[198]

Lafragua did not wonder at the inability of the artisans to defend the capital against the North Americans but rather at the refusal of the Indian populace to rise to the patriotic defense of the Republic. The belief that poverty prevented the performance of civic duties was reflected in the writings of the liberal philanthropist José Luis María Mora and the conservative electoral restrictions that banned those earning less than $200 per year from voting.[199]

The low opinion of the wealthy for the miserable people does not mean that social attitudes had not changed

[illegible] official and the [illegible] anonymous author reflect the change in [illegible] official wrote of the problem of alcoholism. In *vinaterías* (wine shop) he wrote catered to judges, clerks and the better sort of artisan and should be strictly regulated because the corruption of these useful subjects harmed society. The *pulquería* (pulque shop), a notorious spawning ground of riots and political disorders, catered to the *plebe ínfima* and the poorest artisans. Some overzealous reformers suggested that the *pulquerías* be closed down or strictly regulated, but the official disagreed. The *pulquería*, he wrote, could not possibly corrupt the *plebe ínfima* because that class was degraded by birth. The official applied the same reasoning to the notorious nudity of the lowest class. How, he asked, could nudity be shameful or degrading to people who had known no other way of life?[218]

The contributor to the *Museo Mexicano* wrote of the same people and the same vices. He confessed that a great sorrow" overwhelmed him when he wrote of the *populacho* whom he characterized as 'a miserable class without education, morality, and among whom the spirit of work is absolutely unknown.' He finished his essay on an optimistic note:

> Cannot one think that some day education will eradicate these customs and make of these useless and in some cases harmful men useful citizens who will contribute with their work to the prosperity of the Republic?[219]

Notes

[1] Brantz Mayer, *Mexico As It Was and As It Is* (New York, 1844), pp. 37, 64.

[2] Guillermo Prieto, *Memorias de mis tiempos* (París, 1948), p. 249.

[3] Manuel Rivera Cambas, *México pintoresco, artístico y monumental* (México, D.F., 1882), tomo 1, p. xxxi.

[4] Cantidad de aguas de lluvia que cayó en México en el quinquenio de 1841 a 1845, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 1861, p. 300.

[5] Victoriano Salado Álvarez, *De Santa Anna a la Reforma, memorias de un veterano* (México, D.F., 1902), p. 1.

[6] Edward B. Tylor, *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1861), p. 65.

[7] Donald B. Cooper, *Epidemic Disease in Mexico City, 1761-1813* (Latin American Monographs, no. 1 [Austin, Texas, 1965]).

[8] Fanny Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*, ed. Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher (Garden City, New York, 1970), p. 49.

[9] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1848).

[10] Salado Álvarez, pp. 135-36.

[11] *Mapa de la Ciudad de México* (México, D.F., 1824).

[12] Rivera Cambas, tomo 1, pp. 9-18, 30; Antonia Carmona Cobas, *El libro de mis recuerdos* (México, D.F., 1945) [p. 00], 234.

[13] *Mapa de la Ciudad*.

[14] "Barrios de la Ciudad," *Boletín Municipal*, 17 marzo 1903, p. 1.

[15] Rivera Cambas, tomo 2, p. 44.

[16] Mexico City, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México (hereinafter cited as AACM), tomo 3489, exp. 13.

[17] *Mapa de la Ciudad*.

[18] Edward Taylor Thornton, *Mexico, 1825-1828* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1959), p. 64.

[19] Manuel Carrera Stampa, "Planos de la Ciudad de México," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, tomo 67 (junio 1949), p. 228.

[20] José María Marroquí, *La Ciudad de México* (2da ed., México, D.F., 1969), tomo 1, p. 107

[21] *Directorio de la Ciudad de México* (México, D.F., 1857).

[22] Marroquí, tomo 1, p. 107. Juan Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Manual de providencias económico políticas para uso de los habitantes del Distrito Federal* (México, D.F., 1834), pp. 102-106.

[23] Cerrera Stampa, Imágenes 1, p. 321

[24] Marroquí, tomo 1, pp. 101-102

[25] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, California, 1965), p. 385

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 398. The major barrios with their Aztec and Christian names respectively are: Cuepopan, Santa María Aztahuacuelco, San Sebastián, Tlaxpán, San Pablo, and Moyotlán, San Juan.

[27] Carrera Stampa, p. 319

[28] AACM, tomo 3689, exp. 43; Gibson, p. 395

[29] James A. Scobie, "Buenos Aires at the Commercial Nucleus of the City's Orientation, 1880-1910: Characteristics of the City's Orientation," *American Historical Review*, October 1972, pp. 1035-73; AACM, tomo 3689, exp. 43; "Barrios," p. 1; Marroquí, tomo 1, p. 544.

[30] AACM, tomos 2939-55, 4151-56; Mexico City, Archivo de los Notarios (hereinafter cited as AN), leg. 430

[31] AACM, tomo 229, "Actas de 7 septiembre 1829."

[32] Thornton, p. 51

[33] AACM, tomo 873, exp. 15.

[34] Calderón de la Barca, pp. 367-69

[35] Carrera Cubas, pp. 359-65; Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico* (New York, 1846), p. 102

[36] Carrera Cubas, pp. 170-71

[37] AACM, tomo 3286, exp. 14.

[38] AACM, tomo 165, "Actas de 30 noviembre 1844."

[39] "Tentativas revolucionarias," *Universal*, 3 diciembre 1849.

[40] Carrera Stampa, pp. 309-10; Mexico City, Palacio Municipal, Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter cited as AGN), leg. 82, "Padrones de establecimientos industriales (1843), Manzana 46."

[1] [illegible]lermo Prieto, *Memorias de mis tiempos* (México [illegible]), p. 34

[2] Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in Mexico* (Lon[illegible]), pp. 146-47

[3] *Documentos oficiales relativos a la construcción [illegible]ón del Parián* (México, D.F., 1843)

[4] Cirrero Stampa, p. 305

[5] [illegible]ería Cañas, p. 169

[6] AACM, tomo 2279, p. 350

[7] Calderón de la Barca, pp. 300-301. Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de 1845* (México, D.F., 1845), p. 204. During the Revolution of 1840 President Bustamante occupied the Ciudadela while Gómez Farías occupied the Palacio Nacional.

[8] Don José Ramón Malo, *Diario de sucesos notables (1832-1864)*, ed. F. Mariano Cuevas S.J., 2 tomos (México, D.F., 1948), tomo 1, p. 60.

[9] AACM, tomo 154, Actas de 15 junio 1833.

[10] Prieto (1964), pp. 155, 156

[11] Ayuntamiento de México, p. 78

[12] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Memoria para el plano de la [illegible]udad de México* (México, D.F., 1867), p. 3

[13] Prieto (1964), pp. 305-306

[14] AACM, Actos secretos, Actas de 1828, 1836-1841.

[15] Miguel S. Macedo, *El barrio, segunda mitad del [illegible]iglo XIX* (México, D.F., 1930), p. 15

[16] Tylor, pp. 189-70. This and the last observation of the paragraph are the conclusions drawn after reading thousands of vagrancy and criminal cases.

[17] Ayuntamiento de México, p. 78.

[18] Mateos, tomo 2, p. 318

[19] Malo, tomo 2, p. 380

[20] Carrera Stampa, p. 318

[21] Manuel Flores and Ramón Gamboa, *Voto particular [illegible]ado ante el Exmo. Ayuntamiento sobre la destrucción del Par[illegible]* (México, D.F., 1829), p. 1

[22] See Table A-1

[23] *Directorio*, p. 8

[24] Cartero Stampa, p. 318. The consolation of Candelaria de los Patos with the sale of poultry still survives

The symbol for the Candelaria erotism on the Mexico City subway system is a dunk. Rivera Cambas, tome 2, p. 1...

[65] Barlow, p. 1... Ruxton, p. 55...

[66] Rivera Cambas, tome 2, pp. 94, 144, 176, 241

[67] Correo Stuope, p. 305

[68] Rivera Cambas, tome 2, p. 97. Prieto (1944), p. 375

[69] Lulu de Bellemar [Gabriel Ferry], *Escenas de la vida mexicana*, trad. Lic. Garcia de Real (Barcelona, n.d.), p. 10-15

[70] Garcia Cubas, p. 249

[71] Thornton, p. 59

[72] Calderón de la Barca, p. 166.

[73] Tylor, p. 247

[74] Calderón de la Barca, p. 175

[75] Prieto (1944), p. 80

[76] Calderón de la Barca, pp. 175, 177. Edward Tayloe Thornton, a Southern aristocrat, was moved to feelings of disgust by the sight of the women inequality he observed on the *aceras* of Mexico City

[77] Mariano Galvan Rivera, *Guia de forasteros, 1842* (México, D.F., 1842)

[78] Juan Nepumuceno Almonte, *Guia de forasteros* (México, D.F., 1852).

[79] Mariano Galvan Rivera, *Guia de forasteros, 1832* (México, D.F., 1832). AACM, tome 2070, exp. 43

[80] Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico* transl. Michael P. Costeloe (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 90-91

[81] AACM, tome 4140, exp. 40

[82] José Robert Polnsett, *Notas sobre México*, trad. Pablo Martínez del Campo (México, D.F., 1950), pp. 155-58.

[83] Jan Bazant, 'La industria textil en el siglo XIX y nuevo,' en *Colección de documentos para la historia del comercio exterior de México*. *El comercio exterior y el ... tesano mexicano* (México, D.F., 1945), p. 33.

[84] AACM, tome 3409, 'Padrón de 1849'

[85] Thornton, p. 59. Polnsett, p. 158

[86] AACM, tome 4152, exp. 73, 79

[87] Agustín Cue Canovas, *Historia social y económica de México, 1521-1824* (México, D.F., 1963), p. 241. Secre...

terfa de Estad[illegible] de [illegible] [illegible]
teriores, *Memoria* [illegible]44 (México, D[illegible]

[88] AACM tomo 2279, p 238

[89] See Table N-3

[90] AACM, tomo 2889 See Table N-2

[91] AGN, legs 83, 84

[92] Mariano Otero, *Obras* 2 tomos [illegible], tomo 1, pp 25-29

[93] AACM tomo 3274, exp 95

[94] Tyler, p 114 AACM, tomo 2279, [illegible] 6 septiembre 1843 Bazant, *Alienation*, pp 90-91

[95] *Diario Oficial* 11 agosto 1844

[96] El cohn, *Semanario Artistico*, 11 junio 1844, p 1

[97] Cue Canovas, pp 285-96.

[98] Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon, "La vida económica de México de 1824 a 1867 y sus proyecciones" (tesis, Licenciado en Economía, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964), pp 33/-38

[99] Cue Canovas, p 289

[100] Tornel, *Memorias*, 24 febrero 1844

[101] Cue Canovas p 39

[102] Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, *Legislación* [illegible], 34 tomos (México, D.F., 1892), tomo 2, ley 898.

[103] José María Bocanegra, *Memorias para la historia de* [illegible] *Independencia* 2 tomos (México D.F., 1892), tomo 2 p 1 4

[104] *Diario Oficial*, 24 agosto 1844 Dublán and Lozano tomo 5 leyes 3187, 3232

[105] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 3, leyes 2040 1828

[106] Otero, tomo 2 p 808

[107] Garcia Cubas, p 236

[108] Salado Alvarez, p 264

[109] Tornel

[110] AACM, tomo 3284, exps 13-14

[111] Carlos María Bustamante, *Apuntes para la historia del gobierno de general Antonio López de Santa Anna 1841 1844* (México, D.F., 1845), p 9

[2] AACH, tomo 3284, expe 10 [illegible]

[3] *Diario Oficial*, 23 agosto 18[illegible]

[4] AACH, tomo 3284, expe 10 1[illegible]

[5] AACH tomo 3284, expe 10 14

[6] AACH, tomo 3284, exp 14

[7] Dübler and Lozano tomo 4, ley 2292

[8] Huetoeente, p 25

[9] AACH tomo 3453, exp 34

[10] Luis Chávez Orozco *Documentos para la historia económica de México* tomo 1, *La industria de hilados y tejidos en México (1828-1842)* (México, D.F., 1934-1936) Henry George Ward *Mexico in 1827* 2 vols (London, 1828), vol I p 70 Daniel Cosío Villegas, *La cuestión arancelaria en México* tomo 3. *Historia de la política aduanal* (México, D F 1932) pp 156, 157

[11] Chávez Orozco, p 127 Cosío Villegas, pp 156, 157

[12] *Exposición dirigida al congreso de la nación por [illegible] fabricantes y cultivadores de algodón* (México, D F., 1841) 1

[13] Ayuntamiento de México, *Representación de Ayuntamiento de esta Capital en defensa de la industria agrícola y fabril de la República* (México, D F , 1841), p 1

[14] *Ibid* , p. 24.

[15] *Diario Oficial* 21 agosto 1844, p 1; 23 agosto 1844, p 1

[16] José María Luis Mora, *Miscelanea de política* (México, D F , 1843), pp 716-48

[17] *Semanario Artístico*, 1843, and *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 1842

[18] *Representación dirigida al Congreso de la Unión por [illegible]124 artesanos pidiendo protección para el trabajo de los nacionales* (México D F , 1851)

[19] Ayuntamiento de México. *Documentos de los ciudadanos síndicos acerca de si los extranjeros pueden tener carnicerías, panaderías, y otros comercios de esta clase* (México, D F , 1a agosto 1830)

[20] *Diario Oficial* enero-diciembre 1844

[21] Latrobe, p 111

[22] AACH, tomo 863, exp 38

[133] AACM, tomo 4779, exp. 353

[134] AACM, tomo 4154, exp. 139. Hen[illegible] entr[illegible] e [illegible] deseaba exterior [illegible] intriguing. [illegible] referring to [illegible] mentize rather than a Europe[illegible]

[135] Ayuntamiento de México, *Dictamenes*

[136] AACM, tomo 522, exp. 8

[137] See Table D-1

[138] 'Publicidad,' pp. 48-50

[139] See Table E-1

[140] Editorial, *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 1 [illegible] 1841, p. 3

[141] 'Mercado de Cabre,' 12 noviembre 18[illegible] i

[142] Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1970)

[143] Lyle N. McAlister, 'Social Structure and Social Change in New Spain,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, August, 1963, p. 352

[144] Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios mexicanos* (México, D.F., 1954)

[145] See Table E-2

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[147] AACM, tomo 3688, exp. 43

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[149] Ward, tomo 1, p. 22

[150] Poinsett, p. 95

[151] Francisco López Cámara, *La estructura económica y social de México en la época de la Reforma* (México, D.F., 1967), p. 227

[152] Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios*

[153] AACM, tomo 383, exp. 18-21

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[155] Antonio García Cubas, *El libro de mis recuerdos* (México, D.F., 1904), p. 241

[156] 'Pepulacho de México,' *Museo Mexicano*, tomo 3 (1844), p. 450

[157] AACM, tomo 3688, exp. 41

[158] Gabriel Ferry, *Vagabond Life in Mexico* (New York, 1856), p. 40

[159] Ballemar p 8

[160] Prieto (1964), pp

[161] Mayer p 41

[162] See Tables P-1 and

[163] See Tables P-3 and

[164] Nicolo Zamacois, *Historia de México* 11 tomos D F 1879), tomo 11 p 787

[165] AACM tomo 392, exp 58

[166] Robert A Wilson, *Mexico Its Peasants and Its* (New York 1856), p 281

[167] García Cubas (1904), p 238

[168] "Population," p 450

[169] See Tables C-1, C-2, and C-3

[170] Rivera Cambas, tomo 2, p 146

[171] Prieto (1948), pp 202-203

[172] See Table H 1

[173] See Tables H-2 and H-3

[174] Thompson, p 188

[175] Lucas Alamán *Historia de México* 5 tomos (México 9) tomo 1, p 33

[176] McAllester, p 358

[177] Alamán, tomo 1 p 33

[178] Ward, tomo 1, pp 27-28; tomo 2 p 38 Alejandra Moreno Toscano, 'Cambios en los patrones de urbanización en México,' Sobretiro de *Historia Mexicana* tomo 22, no 2, pp 164-74.

[179] El robo, p 1

[180] López Cámara p 277 Torcuato di Tella 'The Dangerous Classes in Early Nineteenth Century Mexico' *Journal of Latin American Studies* May 1973 p 95

[181] AACM tomo 4158, exp 334

[182] Secretaría de Estado y Despacho de Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores, p 13

[183] Jeffry Kaplow, *The Names of Kings* (New York 1972), p 30

[184] Tyler, pp 60-61

[185] AACM tomo 383 exp 18

[186] AACM, tomo 4151, exp 30

[187] AACM tomo 4157, exp 302

[188] AACM tomo 4154, exp 161

[189] AACM, tomo 4151 exp 159

[190] AACM tomo 872, exp 17

[191] Puebla hoy, *Ecos de Comercio* 14 marzo 1[illegible] p 1
[illegible]lia p 1

[192] Mariano Otero, *Ensayo sobre el verdadero estado de la cuestión social y política* (Guadalajara, 1952), p 51

[193] AACM, tomo 3831, exp 18

[194] Jesús Fernández de Lizardi, *El periquillo sarniento* [illegible]mos (México, D F , 1949), tomo 1, pp 71-76

[195] Otero, *Ensayo* p 110

[196] Wilson, pp 281-86

[197] Nuestros artesanos,' *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 3 diciembre 1848, p 3

[198] Lafragua, p 57

[199] José María Luis Mora, *México y sus revoluciones* 3 tomos (México D F , 1950), tomo 1, p 284

[200] AACM, tomo 3683, exp 43

[201] "Populacho" p 450

LABOR AND WAGES

[illegible] long time I have not work'd at [illegible] I blanket weaving because I [illegible] by selling matches in the

--Mariana Tirado, 1845

Labor

[illegible]aco City's poor labored under unique circumstances created by severe economic depression, the demise of the colonial guild system, and the birth of modern industrial organization. This chapter will examine their 'modes' of labor, working conditions, and wages. Artisans, masters, journeymen, and apprentices constituted 38 percent of the San Luis population and over 65 percent of the lower occupational categories.[1] Seventy percent of them were shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, bakers, weavers, painters, and printers.[2] They were not the most prosperous craftsmen. Table 11 ranks the mean rent listed on the census of 1849. Only the ranks of the tailors and carpenters were among the ten highest. The

[illegible]

tinction: [illegible] a largely barefoot population

The completion of an apprenticeship was the prerequisite to becoming a journeyman, the highest position to which a poor boy could aspire. Severing the youth from home ties for a prolonged period of time, apprenticeship was a dramatic rite of passage to adulthood. It also created lifelong friendships. "I have known him since we were apprentices together" was the usual way that artisans expressed a deep and favorable knowledge of an individual's character before the city's magistrates.[3] An apprentice who served his master well could expect different and family connections when seeking his first post or, more rarely, a loan to start his own business.

Apprenticeship began at any age. Wealthier artisans gave their children a prolonged formal education, apprenticing them between the ages of fifteen and seventeen.[4] Poorer families, unable to feed or cloth their children or seeking to supplement their incomes, apprenticed them at quite early ages.[5] Records of the Tribunal de Vagos show apprenticeship starting at the age of eight.[6] Older men entered into apprenticeship whenever their original crafts became depressed.[7]

An apprenticeship was a legal contract, verbal or written, stipulating the craft to be taught, the conditions under which it was to be taught, duration, and fee.[8] A good

[illegible] wealthy craftsmen acting out of [illegible] impulses, took on poor boys without means, providing that the parents continued to shelter, feed, and clothe them [16]

Poorer families made verbal contracts These were no less binding than those written if acknowledged by both parties during litigations A few examples of the verbal agreements sworn before the Tribunal de Vagos when it apprenticed delinquent youths are vague and indicate the conditions under which a poor boy entered apprenticeship

> He took formal delivery of the accused, José Resende, to teach him a craft and care for his conduct, and bring him usefully into society [11]
>
> He contracted to receive the expressed protections under the obligation to teach him the craft of carpentry and instruct him in the principles of good morals and Christian education that corresponded to his condition [12]
>
> He received under his responsibility and with the qualification that he shall work by his side and fulfill all the duties of a respectable man [*hombre de bien*] to José Lorres who he will have in his house and at his side, trying to direct him in the heaven of honor [13]

Not all verbal contracts were vague One case in the pro-

the boy be bought to [illegible]

The examples illustrate the paternal nature of the master's relationship with his apprentice Once the oath was sworn, the master became legally responsible for the conduct of the boy Most apprentices lived in their masters workshop or house A significant minority of poor apprentices resided with their parents The minimal wages earned by an apprentice went to his parents [15] After the contract was made it could be broken by either party for many inftmtion The most common were incompetence, misbehaviet, or laziness on the part of the apprentice and mistreatment or neglect on the part of the master [16]

In the colonial period guild regulations specified long apprenticeships After 1821 the parties concerned voluntily agreed to the duration of training The time it took to learn any trade was a matter of revenue knowledge and stipulated by the contract [17] If the apprentice demonstrated aptitude he was promoted to half-journeyman, which involved more responsibility and more pay [18] The craft progressives viewed the elimination of guild regulations that could keep a mature man or apprentice for as many as seven years as an escape from an artificially prolonged infancy [19] Boys apprenticed at the age of eight might remain apprentices for seven or eight years [20] All man with traceable labor histories who appeared before the Tribunal were journeyman before the age of twenty

[illegible] the stereotype is [illegible] Stoops in *Los grandes mexicanos*, [illegible] justified.[11] Glaring physical abuse is not cited [illegible] the records of the Tribunal de Vagos or criminal courts where examples of such treatment might be expected. Masters beat and even flogged recalcitrant apprentices, but this was not worse punishment than fathers meted out to disobedient sons.[12]

Apprentices suffered other forms of abuse. The contract of Encarnación Carranza specified a daily wage of one real and a flat rate of five reals weekly for any overtime. After a month of overtime work, Carranza's master refused to pay the additional wages. Hoping to rid himself of the complaining apprentice, he falsely accused the boy of disobedience and turned him over to the Tribunal. After a full hearing, the Tribunal adjudged the master guilty of perjury, ordered him to pay all back wages, and jailed him. Although this is the only recorded case of nonpayment, the skepticism with which the Tribunal greeted the master's accusations suggests that the abuse was common.[13]

Poor apprentices suffered from neglect. The very poor, unwilling or unable to feed and dress an adolescent, apprenticed the child to an inept "master of the streets" for a worthless three or four years during which the boy

[redacted] or the [redacted] ublishment of the *gremios* [redacted] had created a [redacted] of masters who possessed sufficient capital to start a business but insufficient knowledge of their crafts. They "were not embarrassed" to take on paying apprentices who learned only the ineptitudes of their masters and the bad habits of loosely disciplined journeymen.[25]

The abandonment of apprentices was common. When business was slow, frequent in the capital, masters left young apprentices to shift for themselves until the return of better times. It was difficult to find new masters. Quirino Escobar, a thirteen-year-old carpenter, spent four months seeking one after he was abandoned in January 1851. He was reduced to selling candy and fetching parcels from the market place. The abandoned apprentice was further disadvantaged if his parents had left town or no longer recognized legal responsibility for him. One fifteen-year-old mestizo, laid off work in 1835, discovered that his father had moved to Zimacoregpac during his apprenticeship. By day the boy supported himself assisting arrieros. By night he slept in the doorways of houses. An orphaned thirteen-year-old purse maker normally worked and slept in his uncle's shop. Whenever business was slow the uncle turned the boy out into the streets. Homeless, he joined a teen-age street gang that spent its time scrounging the residents of the barrio of Santa María la Redonda.[26]

many delib[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] apprenticeship was a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

this number l[illegible] that o[illegible] artisans al-
eigned a mass petition in 1851 requesting the suppression of
contraband.[35] Although the above estimates are admittedly
crude, the conclusion is inescapable that the public work-
shops employed significantly less than half of the city's
artisans.[36]

Most journeymen set up their own small workshops ku-
nown rincuneras or took in work provided by merchants or the
public workshops. Those who set up shop were often highly
skilled craftsmen who developed an appreciative clientele.
Ernst Mayur, a North American diplomat, visited the workshop
of a wax sculptor whose work was admired throughout the city.
He watched in amazement as the sculptor, squatting over a
portable furnace in his cramped, run-down workshop fashioned
an uxquisite statue from soft wax.[37] Other artisans possessed
unusually high inherited reputations. Vicente Serlo, a seventy
year-old carpenter, furnished the homes of his neighbors with
curious and delicate' works.[38] These independents maintained
a haphazard, easy-going system of production that attracted
the attention of Robert Wilson. They did not work for orders.
Members of their families hawked their products on the streets
as soon as they were produced. If sales were brisk, the
family took a week-long fiesta.[39] Although Wilson thought
the irregularity peculiarly Mexican, it was common to inde-
pendent artisans throughout the Western world.[40]

[illegible] of [illegible]

tched rinconera who squatted outside the casas de v[illegible]d trying to gain the patronage of minor civil servants and stone alcaldes.[41] Guillermo Prieto, the nineteenth century politician and humorist, wrote earthy descriptions of them. Walking through the streets of the city, one could observe

> some shoemaker, chittering, a large greasy aproning under his sheet, a thick thatch of hair hanging across his forehead, his striped shirt, his filthy workbench covered by his tools or the trash of his crude work, his pleading dog, and his jar of pulque by his side [and] the weaver of ponchos wherein, sitting on the ground with a chisel, supported by the big toe of his foot, forming those chairs whose groundwork we had admired in the Café of the Search.[42]

Most journeymen labored in their homes. Large workshops provided some with materials to be fashioned into a finished product and returned by a specified date. Retail merchants placed orders with other journeymen, lent money for the purchase of materials, and purchased the finished product.[43] The interest charged and profits earned in the [illegible] transaction are not known. The commercial interest rate varied from 12 to 24 percent per month.

Pilferage of materials must have been common. The phrase "he can be trusted with his materials" was a common form of character reference. Mexican artisans were notorious

[illegible] to have legal validity I voted the tardy [illegible] I found no breach-of-contract case among thousands of criminal cases.

Many artisans worked at two or more systems of production. Pablo Martínez, a tailor, took in work from a master and made clothes for his own customers.[45] A shoemaker took in materials provided by one public workshop and worked in another.[46] The variations were common and necessary for survival in the permanently depressed economy.

Marxist historians have exaggerated the role of the public workshop in Mexico's labor history by applying their theory superficially to extremely sparse data. A typical Marxist treatment is that of Roberto de la Cerda Silva, author of *El movimiento obrero en México*. According to de la Cerda Silva, the artisans were victims of an embryonic capitalist system that developed slowly after the abolition of the *gremios*. Deprived of the *gremios'* protection, government first forced people to enter factories in which they performed exhausting and dangerous labor for starvation wages.[47] Other Marxists write of the legalization of usury, the proliferation of indebted labor, and the increase of the numerous *obrajes* (large textile workshops).[48] To illustrate their case, they are fond of describing the *obraje* in Querétaro that Alexander von Humboldt visited in 1792. In this 'dark prison' whose double doors were constantly locked

[illegible] Floggings [illegible] rarri[illegible] their families only an [illegible]

The Marxists overidentified the colonial guild system Manuel Carrera Stampa's opinion of the late colonial gremio manner bn understand For from being an institution devoted to the benefit of all artisans the late-colonial *gremio* stifled economic and personal freedom to enforce an inefficient and unpopular monopoly Apprenticeships were expensive and discouragingly long High fees and irrelevant, demanding examinations thwarted journeymen who wished to become masters The more desperate overcame these obstacles by running away and establishing their own shops or working for wealthy non guild masters of large illegal workshops [50] *Negotemmzmo* (renegade journeymen) were common in the shoemaking, blacksmithing carriage making, glove making, hat making, leather working and painting crafts [51] They sold at lower prices and operated at more convenient hours than did the guildsmen Their competition particularly hurt the master shoemakers who complained that it forced them to reduce prices "without regard for the time and money that they had spent to pass their examinations" [52]

To combat illegal competition the guildsmen resorted to two expedients Special courts sentenced arrested *negotemmzmos* to labor in public workshops Dress regulations compelled the captive journeymen to borrow money from their

masters for the purchase of [illegible]. The master thee extracted repayment from wages [illegible] historically leaving the journeyman enough money to support himself and his family. Justified as a measure to end the indecent and shameless nudity of the poor artisans the actual purpose was to indebt the worker to his master

The efforts of the guild to restrict competition failed long before the Independence period. Artisans forced to borrow money ran away to prosperous Peoble where work was readily obtained or the street corners or from masters who asked no questions concerning the newcomer's past. Those who remained in the workshops drove their masters backrept by stealing tools and materials or by the production of shoddy goods.[53] Consumer opinion supported the renegades. Guild shoemakers protested that the poor preferred the cheap wares of the *regatones* to their allegedly more durable but more expensive product. In other crafts illegal industry also produced a clearly superior product. Compared to the coaches manufactured and operated illegally, the guild coaches looked as "old and shabby" as their mules.[54] Because of their product's popularity, independents produced and operated most of the city's coaches.

Government policy, influenced by physiocratic philosophy that shunned monopolies, tacitly sided with the *regatones*. Many independents obtained immunity from wrongful prosecution by enrolling in the city militia and claiming *fuero*

[illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible] Guildsmen whispered that the influence of the owners of the large, heavily capitalized carriage-making shops reached to the Viceroy's palace. The civil courts made a shambles of the intent of the clothing codes by granting journeymen indebted to their masters legal permission to change jobs.[58] The unwillingness of the government to cooperate with the gremios demonstrates that decades before independence it viewed the gremios as archaic, antisocial embarrassments.

The Marxists distort the republican industrial system. Only a few of Mexico City's largest industries were capitalistic, organized and operated in a manner approaching the rationality of modern industry. Work at the most modern textile mills was probably organized like that of the Buteque mill which employed 200 operatives in 1844. The factory ran two twelve-hour shifts, one beginning at 6:00 a.m. and the other at 12:00 p.m. The workers took lunch breaks at 9:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. according to their shifts.[57] The organization of work in the large bakeries was also highly routinized. A minimum of twelve men worked in shifts of six around the clock to provide the city with fresh bread.[58] Most bakery workers listed as the census of 1849 referred to themselves as "operatives" rather than journeymen; they considered themselves to be hired hands rather than artisans.[59]

[illegible] filaments lashed the modern organi-[illegible] walls and bakeries Each worker at the Estasan received tobacco and paper sufficient to produce sixty-five to seventy-five packets of cigarettes They then returned to their benches and individually produced their quota [6]

In the larger shoemaking tailoring, and weaving establishments masters assigned journeymen individual projects, distributed materials, and specified the completion date Like the workers of the Estasia the journeymen laboured independently of each other at their assigned task If the product was not the result of a specific order, the artisan himself or another employee hawked it in the streets immediately upon completion [7]

Production in most workshops was geared to small orders from individuals To handle significantly increased production masters assigned materials to journeymen working in their homes A decrease in demand produced immediate layoffs The small size of the orders and the intermittency of the few made employment in the public workshop an insecure, day-to-day affair for even the most skilled and reliable worker The anarchist writer of *Hijo de Trabajo*, although writing in a later period, described a known response to early republican decades

> We cannot properly define the sentiment that overpowers us when we see the multitude of workers crowding in front of

the workshop hours and entire days
suffering from the inclemency what
hoping that the master will come
and distribute work, or fearing that
without any consideration whatso
ring explanations, he will luv
ift, leaving in the most horrible
misery those who were regularly and
r some time producing profits

[illegible] forced labor through imprisonment or readmittedness [illegible] very limited scale. Bakeries, and not the obrajes where the most notorious exploiters of forced labor. Heat, dust, and long hours made baking an undesirable craft.[63] From the late colonial period many convicts were sentenced to perform forced labor in the bakeries. The Republic's Tribunal de Vagos continued the practice on a relatively minor scale and occasionally lesser officials abused authority by arbitrarily imprisoning petty delinquents in local bakeries.[64] The treatment of the bakeries' operatives, whether freely hired or condemned convicts, could be brutal. The case of Lorete Flores's sixteen-year-old son illustrates the abuses that occurred. The boy customarily worked extremely long hours and collapsed exhausted until driven back to work by the blows of his foreman. The bakery's administrator accused him falsely of stealing bread and indebted its cost from his daily wages. Tiring of the mistreatment, Flores decided to quit. The administrator, however, accused him of helping another [illegible] to escape, held him responsible for the nonpayment debts, and imprisoned

[illegible] incarcerated, Flores resolved more [illegible]ntings. His mother's appeal to the courts [illegible] release and on $5 fine for his tormentor.[65]

The Flores incident was not an isolated case. In 1849 the Ministry of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs received complaints of the brutalities occurring in the city's bakeries. Following a report made in the ensuing period, it recommended the abolition of convict labor, shorter hours and the payment of extremely high wages to make the industry attractive to free labor.[66]

The dungeon like *obrajes* of colonial Querétaro did not exist in Mexico City. In 1827 the city was astir with the pathetic tale of young Cosme Damián who at the age of five was sold by his alcoholic father into an *obraje* in the nearby village of San Angel. For five years Cosme and his work mates labored without rest, receiving beatings for inferior ration and bread crusts for nourishment. Their overseers sequestered their meager wages as compensation for spurious thefts. Their only holiday was on the Fiesta of San Antonio when they climbed to the balcony of the *obraje* to watch the festivities. Even this small pleasure cost them dearly, for the owners deducted the *obraje*'s share of the fiesta's costs from their wages, or more accurately, added it to their debts. Eventually a village alcalde discovered the *obraje* and liberated its grateful inmates.[67]

[illegible] title of Cosme Ramírez was published in a pamphlet [illegible] isted widely among the artisans of Mexico City. The sensation created by the tale illustrates that forced labor of this type was illegal and extremely rare in the vicinity of the capital. The obrajes of Mexico City, judging from the few documents, were large textile shops utilizing very antiquated systems of production. The obrajeros themselves often sold their wares immediately after completion, a practice that provided the opportunity to cheat employees.[62] Some obraje workers lived on the premises and received meals or a daily wage allowance. In the obraje of Manzana 127, four weavers and three operatives lived with their families.[63]

Freedom of movement was the rule. The criminal records indicate that obrajeros living on the premises came and went as they pleased.[70] Weaving, as the wage rents indicate, was not a very prosperous craft. Those residing in the obraje free from the burden of rent may have considered themselves fortunate. Residence within an obraje, however, was not the rule. Many individuals describing themselves as obrajeros were listed as the tenants of single rooms in the census of 1849.

Indebted labor existed, but not as a form of capitalist or precapitalist slavery. Legal judgments that indebted journeymen to masters were made against proven cases of theft. There is no indication that the courts or employers

[illegible] was for an outrageous theft of thirty six reboses. The legal judgment stipulated the amount of the debt and the manner in which it was to be paid. In each case the worker had the option of paying off the debt in cash or accepting wage deductions. Usually the worker voluntarily consented to the wage-deduction scheme.[71] A debt of $17 would appear insurmountable to a man earning a $12 monthly income that barely provided him with the necessities of life. The law, however, did not obligate the indebted worker to the service of his master. Republican judges followed [illegible] criminal legislature that guaranteed the freedom of movement of an indebted worker provided that he paid his debt or had it guaranteed by his new master.[72] The decrepit state of the municipal police system guaranteed de facto freedom of movement.

Forced debt as a method of obtaining and retaining labor was dysfunctional in Mexico City. Logic indicates that the employer surveying the loss of unemployed at the door of his workshop would hardly desire or need the labor of the inept or the dishonest. A policy of forced loans similar to that of the colonial period does not ring well in a community whose merchants and weapons were continually short of capital and who complained that employees were always pestering them for advances on wages.[73]

Mexico City was a refuge for rural people fleeing debt servitude. Bernardino Pérez, an agricultural laborer from Puente Alto, fled to Mexico City when intolerant mushrooms a $7 loan for the purchase of maize into a debt of $45. He found work in an obraje where his conditions soon lowered him. Unwilling to return to Puente Alto, Pérez borrowed money to repay the debt from his employer and vowed to repay the new loan through deductions in his weekly wages.[74]

The courts did not guarantee the physical abuse of workers. Two criminal cases indicate that free adult workers quickly sought legal redress for physical mistreatment. The maid of Teodora Vásquez brought her distress to court for beating her and withholding wages. The case was never tried because the maid did not appear in court. A foreman of a pork butcher shop beat several employees whom he had caught in the act of theft. At the trial the workers admitted their guilt but complained of their beatings. The judge ruled the foreman's action understandable, but illegal, and fined him $10 admonishing him to treat his subalterns more humanely. He sentenced the thieves to one month's imprisonment, but to compensate for their mistreatment he levied no fines.[75]

The most common form of abuse the Mexican journeyman received at the hands of his master was the withholding of wages. The *Semanario Artístico* explained this problem:

> The greatest part of the work[illegible] are not capitalists, and they need to be paid punctually for their completed works in order to meet operating expenses and subsistence.
>
> Unfortunately most of the customers of publik workshops do not pay their bills on time and the delayed payments cause a lost of avils. The master must waste precious time collecting and in some cases demanding the delinquent accounts. Often he is so short of the cash that he planned to be available that he is hounded by creditors, fails personal subsistence difficult, and is unable to pay his own journeymen.[76]

The courts were evenhanded in their judgments of delinquent wage cases. In three cases they upheld the right of an employer to withhold the costs of admitted negligence or theft without a prior legal judgment. That these cases appealed before the courts at all is proof that the aggrieved employees expected a fair hearing. In the single case that involved wages being withheld for no justifiable cause, the courts ruled in favor of the employee José María Morales, de arriero, took clothes from his master in lieu of $20 in back pay. Charged with theft, Morales was acquitted by the court which ruled that he had justly compensated himself.[77]

The masters had a case to state against the republican journeymen. Their employees were as unreliable as the journeymen working in theft hence. The *Semanario Artistico* tactfully stated the artificial of the masters:

The owner [illegible] workshops, fac[illegible]
and the [illegible] de themselves [illegible]
employ subordinate labor who [illegible]
neyman upon whom they depend [illegible]
and artistic execution [illegible]
sometimes answered [illegible] such [illegible]
underestand these duties or [illegible]
should the deliranties or foem[illegible]
their premises [illegible]
ner journeymen will not complete [illegible]
ce time or assenting to specific[illegible]
cause these masters to involuntarily [illegible]
these customers [78]

[illegible]erial allude? to the preludustrial habits of [illegible]
[illegible] o reeymee who, like Euespese oed North Amerieeu a[illegible]
t sans showed a marked aversion to continual and consistent
labor, habits the early Industrial Revolution demanded of
its working force [79] The Mexicans "kept Monday' by not
working. Masters deplored the "ancient and pernicious cus-
tom" but accepted it as the general rule [80] Artisans who
worked on Mondays drew the pennies of their masters [81]
During workday they were apt to take frequent and unnecessary
breaks. Public censure by the freeman or the chance appear-
ance of an old friend were sufficient justification to de-
sert the workshop for the pleasures of the *gulgeorfa* [82] The
code of honor that equated capacity to drink with manliness
and required a worker to match the drinks bought for him by
his friends often caused an entire workshop to pass an after
noon drinking. Many masters sharing the habits of their
employees saw little harm in allowing their journeymen to
drink in the shop and even joined in the carousing. [83]

[illegible] frequently to [illegible]d accept of [illegible] of his craft Realizing the total [illegible] the master upon him, the skilled employee [illegible] is mastery or avoid work The behavior of [illegible] lingerers gradually corrupted the more honest [illegible] served their apprenticeships under such demoralizing conditions young journeymen entered severe disciplinary problems when they went to work for masters who knew their crafts [84]

Apprentisme living by the side of a respected and kind master must have considered him as a father Many unfortuned journeymen continued to live in the master's home or workshop [85] Resistance at the latter was a mark of taunt betrayal of the value of the tools stored there and the high incidence of pilferage The overall impression presented by the court and vigilancy records was that pacific and moderate workers might expect friendly and close relations with their fellow journeymen and masters

The *gremio* vanished from the pages of republican history but the *cofradía*, its religious brotherhood remained as a reminder of the past The *cofradía* originated in the *gremio*'s obligation to develop the spiritual welfare of its members Each man was dedicated to the performance of a specific religious function, usually the veneration of a saint From a secular point of view, its most important function was to serve as a benevolent society during sickness or death The Cofradía of the Holy Sacrament and Sodality

[illegible]

[illegible] payment [illegible] death b[illegible] for Nuss[illegible] and a[illegible] expenses

A payment of $19.7 [nineteen pesos seven reals] to the heirs of the deceased

[illegible]'s guest widows and orphans of deceased members participated in [illegible] they [illegible] provided four prizes of $20

[illegible] benefits are typical of those offered by other cofradías. It is unknown whether any of the others offered the $200 lottery.

The *cofradía* a principal function was to provide each brother with a decent minimum of religious rites at sickness or death. Nineteen pesos represented little more than a month and one-half of a poor artisan's income and was insufficient to save him or his family from destitution.[67]

Cofradía dues were a moderate one-half real a week or two reals a month. Membership was open to women as well as men. The tailor's *cofradía* mentions only master tailors as its beneficiaries. The charters of others and the membership lists of all were not available for inspection. It is unlikely that most journeymen were members. Those who worked outside the guild system would have no connection with the remnants of the Atahaim system. Those who were irregularly employed

[illegible] did not maintain [illegible] plans permitted a maximum debt of one third of [illegible] moral obligations to the *confradía*. If a brother [illegible] and having less than ten years seniority should [illegible] he received no benefits--a penalty that would discourage [illegible] membership of most poor artisans.[88]

The minimum importance of the *gremio* or *confradía* to the poor artisan does not suggest that the republican artisan possessed no sense of group identity. The poorer artisans [illegible] a fierce sense of pride in his skilled craft. To insult a journeyman's skill was to provoke a fist fight which the neurtr[illegible] normally severe when dealing with knowling refusnd to condemn.[89] Those arraigned before the Tribunal de Vagos always protested that they were *artesanos honrados* (honorn' artisans).[90] None demonstrated a stronger sense of artisanal identity than Amado Díaz, a thirty-five-year-old gilder and apprentice painter who testified that although personal circumstances forced him to sell used clothes, he "was an artisan and proud of it."[91]

Significant distinctions of wealth and status existed between the journeymen and the master but artisans shared the belief of their Victorian English counterparts 'that people engaged in making the same thing were the same kind of people.'[92] The owners of the largest public workshops displayed a sense of identity with, and consequently responsibility for, the poorest of artisans. In 1841 the hospital o

[illegible] encouraged by the government established the Junta [illegible]mento de Artesanos. The goals of the Junta were:

1. Limiting the invasion of foreign manufactures.
2. Increasing the growth of national production.
3. Contributing to the creation of schools for elementary and vocational education.
4. Working for the defense of the common interest.
5. Raising the moral level of the artisans through religion.
6. Creating charitable institutions to protect artisans from want.[93]

[illegible] *rio Artistico*, the Junta's weekly newspaper and only [illegible] history, provided an idea of the Junta's activities. Articles essays preached the virtues of thrift and the evils of alcoholism. Articles warned against inhaling the dust and fumes produced by industrial processes and discussed the latest technical information. The papers printed schemes urging the necessity of bank accounts or mutual benefit societies and promoted the establishment of night schools to teach writing and elementary bookkeeping to apprentices and journeymen. The *Semanario Artistico* attempted to influence public policy by proposing a boycott of manufactured and legal imports and by petitioning the government to stabilize its finances.[94]

[redacted] author of [redacted] Junta [redacted] resurgence of the [redacted] *gremio* [redacted] view [redacted] ertified; for the Junta resembled neither [redacted] [redacted] called *gremios*. The unionist [redacted] Centro [redacted] the restrictive of gremialism, the [redacted] of [redacted] technology and the intimate embrace of the [redacted]. The Junta attempted to introduce other technical [redacted] institutions by the promotion of courses and medical [redacted] facilities and influence public policy to the benefit of its members. The idealized *gremio* used its legal status to insure the well-being of its members through the regulation of working conditions, productivity, and the provision of welfare benefits. The Junta never sought permanent legal authority, nor did it seek to interfere with the free-market mechanism, with the exception of its advocacy of tariff protection. Its basic goal was self-help through formal reform and education.

The Junta was similar to other organizations of artisans in Europe and North America during the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. Cyrano might argue that they served the needs of embryonic industrialists. A more reasonable interpretation would be that in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution, masters and journeymen still considered their interests to be identical.[64]

The Junta de Fomento de Arrendamientos dissolved in 1845 but artisanal unity persisted. In 1851 artisans without government sponsorship, presented an exhibition to disseminate technical information. That same year they petitioned the government to establish public workshops in which the unemployed could work.[97] In 1951 over 6,400 of the capital's artisans petitioned the government to enforce anti-contubernio legislation.[98]

Unskilled workers accounted for over 25 percent of the entire sample population and 36 percent of the two lowest occupational categories. Sixty-seven percent of the unskilled were servants; street peddlers, street porters, pork butchers, janitors, and agricultural laborers.[99] Table 12 ranks unskilled occupations by mean rent and reveals that the five most common occupations were among the least prosperous.

Despite a low position in the occupational hierarchy, unskilled laborers provided valuable services and color to urban life. The crowded, rutted streets would not permit the passage of large, wheeled vehicles, so heavy loads were consigned to cargadores (street porters) who could transport cargoes as heavy as 300 pounds with the aid of tumplines.[100] Human beasts of burden made up 9 percent of the unskilled labor force.[101] They were present on every corner, waiting patiently or bargaining with customers intent on three loads for the price of one.[102] The cargadores were notorious for animosity displayed to the wealthy classes. During the rainy

[redacted] ly splashing their ri[redacted]

[redacted] kirts o[redacted] ladies to indecent heights [10]

The *aguador* (water carrier) enjoyed greater esteem than the *cargador*. Even the *Museo Nacional* a cultural publication highly critical of the *populacho* described him as a man of propriety and honor. His headquarters were the fountain of Salto del Agua or Santo Domingo. From 6:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. he labored, two huge jugs of water suspended from his head by a tumpline, his hands holding two large pitchers supplying the neighborhoods which lacked fountains. An illiterate, he kept track of his accounts by using numbered beans to signify the amount of water that each customer consumed [104]

The *aguador* was a respected and beloved figure in the neighborhoods that he served. Children loved him because he could be persuaded to give them free drinks during school recess. Adults knew him as the purveyor of local gossip, the liverer of love letters, and walking domestic employment agency. He was renowned as the enemy of care for his clients gave him unwanted felines to be disposed of by drowning or drinking in the fountains. After eleven o'clock some *aguaderes* found employment as street sweepers or in other menial occupations. Most, however, preferred to pass their spare time gambling, drinking, or flirting by the fountains [105]

TABLE 11
ARTISANAL CRAFTS RANKED BY RENT

	[illegible]rapher	[illegible]
	[illegible]er	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]smith	[illegible]
	[illegible]truction	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]lor	[illegible]
	[illegible]ipenter	[illegible]
	Embroiderer	[illegible]
	Watch maker	[illegible]
	[illegible]nter	[illegible]
	Independent artisan	[illegible]
	Calf butcher	[illegible]
16	Leather worker	[illegible]
17	Shoe maker	[illegible]
18	Blacksmith	[illegible]
19	Weaver	[illegible]
20	Knitter	[illegible]
21	Hat maker	[illegible]
22	Forging press operator	[illegible]
23	Baker	[illegible]
24	Mason	[illegible]
25	Metal processor	[illegible]
26	Dyer	[illegible]
27	Potter	[illegible]
8	Cabinet maker	[illegible]
	Total cases 388	

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author for the random sample from the census of 1849, AACN, reels 3409 3413.

TABLE 12

UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS RANKED [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Sexton	
3	Bartender	
4	Waiter	
5	Pork butcher	
6	Unskilled factory laborer	
7	Mule skinner	
8	Food and beverage processor	
9	Coachman	
10	Money lender	
11	Wax chandler	
12	Street peddler	
13	Nonmetallic mineral producer	
14	Agricultural laborer	
15	Cigar maker	
16	Vegetable grower	
17	Servant	
18	Fisherman	
19	Musical entertainer	
20	Drover	
21	Fiber preparer	
22	Street porter	
23	Wagoner	
24	Other producers	
25	Water carrier	
26	Street sweeper	

Total cases 145

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author for the [illegible] sample from the census of 1848 AACM tapes 3409 3711.

TABLE 13
WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS, MANZANA 168

[illegible]sses	1
[illegible] workers	1
Tortilla makers	1
Embroiderers	1
Milk vendors	1
Atole makers	1
Peddlers	3
Maid	1
Friend girl	1
Butcher	1
Tamale maker	1

SOURCE AACM, tome 3408

[a]Five of the above were married. Three peddlers, one maid and one *tortillera*.

TABLE 14
COMPARISON OF RENT BY OCCUPATION

	$0.0-1.0		$1.1-2.0		$2.1-3.0		$3.1-4.0		$4.1+	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Artisan	49	12	155	37	97	22	36	9	87	21
Unskilled	21	16	79	40	50	28	13	6	16	12

Total cases 623

The *aguadores* possessed an esprit de corps. They formed informal *gremios* headquartered at the fountains from which they drew water.[166] The ceremonial passed judgment on prospective novitiates. The rejected were hammered from the neighborhood, the accepted were given a ritual buffeting and dunking and sent on their first rounds. At the end of the day the initiate treated his brothers to drinks. The *aguadores* marched as nazarenos in the Holy Week processions and traditionally pawned their water jugs in order to purchase the resplendent costumes. At one time *aguadores* served as professional mourners at funerals, but by 1843 the inmates of the Hospicio de Pobres had usurped the rights to this employment.[167] The *gremio* was not very exclusive. In 1851 the government ordered the capital's *aguadores* to organize in order to clean fountains, fight fires, and provide all areas of the city with water.[168]

The hackney coachman was the nineteenth century's cabbie. He was a rakish fellow outfitted in shirt sans tie, jacket of white linen, and cassimere trousers encircled at the waist by a sash of colored wool. A broad leather shield, fastened below his right knee and buttoned to the foot, covered his calf. His usual working hours were from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Like his modern descendant, he knew the haunts of the capital's whores. Saturday, his day off, he would load his coach full of his *lépero* friends and race through the city with his drunken cargo. While working, he

[illegible] in hemeroid races-
[illegible] e perpet[illegible]

> The coachman gets put [illegible] for the most innocent trespasses. Be[illegible] pummeled his coach's sliding do[illegible] trip train or a clerk comp[illegible] without justification because he [illegible] rudely on a sidewalk, one gentleman [illegible] posed between two precious [illegible] was belonging to the merchant or a lawyer or anybody else [illegible] every[illegible]

[illegible] to a guild is mentioned in the documents. We have little knowledge of its activities other than that it provided its members with burials in the parish graveyard of San Pablo.[110]

Street merchants comprised 15 percent of the male lower class population. They and the *rinconeros* jammed the flow of traffic causing the *mayordomos* to issue a futile ordinance requiring them to remove themselves to the Plazas of San Juan de Dios, del Carmen, La Santísima, San Juan de Letran, San Pablo, and the Colegio de los Ninos.[111] They hawked an endless variety of products. Antonio Garcia Cubas in his memoirs of life in early nineteenth-century Mexico City recalled twenty-nine different types of vendors each with his own musical cry.[112] A glimpse at those servicing the neighborhood of señora Calderón de la Barca gives an idea of their variety and utility. At dawn the ambassador's wife awoke to the cries of the coal vender followed by those

[illegible] wall bea[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

brlity and truet ' Whan the elo[illegible] yanng peddlers of the Parisn tatrn[illegible] ordware, or 'whatever else pteacr[illegible]'[117]

Other vendors were independent [illegible] a hero hartered his plates and glassware f r [illegible] that he tmuald on the Batrille. Thn *mercere* carried suspended from an enormone pole hanging across hie ehoulders

> nuadles, Files, thimbles, spools, knitting needles, eureens, balls of thread, hair pins, shawl pins, earrings, Navelins and Rapalds catechisms, chnap martrons of vermm and literatura by Inclán and Sixto Casillas, gamms of clay, plates decorated with the Siege of Snvastupol, games for childrnn, and other trifles. His left hand sunteined a yerstatrck and a small cune from which hung various thicknesses of embroidered *mobles* and woven paint lace for puttieents [116]

[illegible]e [illegible]n thnous inventory marked him as a small shopkeeper savi[illegible]g [illegible]mall the expense of rent

Servants comprised 23 percent of thn lowest ncompe tional catngory bnt bncause of the bras of the censne, their actual purcentage was smaller [117] Scullions, lacheys, and errand boys possessed the lowest prnetige Maids, chambermaidn, and cooks ncompied an intermndiath position Thn aristocrat of the sole anrvent corps was the coachman, usually a former hackney driver, peasant, or household domestic who had tlmen threngh the tnnks The wealthy lavrmhed good treat

[illegible] and [illegible] He and his family occupied the best room on the ground-floor servant quarters The coachman adopted the characteristics of his master, whether doctor lawyer, civil servant, or general Whenever possible the coachman demonstrated nobleness oblige to his lesser colleagues by treating them to free rides[118] The female housekeeper however occupied the highest rung in the domestic-staff hierarchy If she was good, then "the troubles of the menage rest upon her shoulders, and accustomed to the amiable weaknesses of her countrymen she is neither surprised nor disturbed by them"[119]

Two hundred and eighty-eight families on the census of 1849 employed an average of three servants Staffs larger than ten, however, were quite common Over 70 percent resided with their employers Unlike eighteenth-century Paris, many Mexican servants preserved their family life[120] Porters, coachmen, and gardeners kept their families in the house-holds In many, wives and daughters worked as chambermaids while sons served as errand boys Others abandoned their families temporarily to go into domestic service The laundress of señora de la Barca had six children who were left to their own devices whenever their mother chose to be employed Her frequent departures from the service of her mistress which the señora attributed to laziness, may have been

[illegible] free time will [illegible]

[illegible] family and friends once a week at which time [illegible] have dinner light their cigars, and together with [illegible] Josefita, sit and howl and bemoan themselves [illegible] crying and lamenting her sad fate in being obliged to go out to service.[121]

Domestic service was considered the ideal education for a poor girl. The convents particularly, were the elite academies where young girls learned the skills necessary for employment in wealthy households or to attract good husbands. Josefita, the model Mexican little servant girl, entered domestic service under conditions demanded by her mother that she should be taught to read, taken to church, and instructed regularly in all kinds of work.'[123]

Poor men disliked domestic service. Only 45 percent of the male servants were natives of Mexico City, an indication that only luckless male migrants from necessity entered the occupation. Its unpopularity probably lay in the power of the master to regulate family life and personal conduct. Married men in fact avoided the trade. Forty-six percent of all male domestic servants were single, nearly 80 percent greater than the percentage of single men in the entire population. The contempt of the lépero, archtype of lower-class vagrancy and independence, for the domestic servant illustrates

cost the lower classes considered personal liberty too great a sacrifice for secure employment [124]

The wealthy recognized that compared to foreign servants, native Mexicans were the perfection of civility humble, obliging, exceedingly and consistently good tempered, and very warmly attached to those with whom they live. Their virtues, however were marred by unreliability and filth Viceroy de la Cerda's maids were forever leaving the household to enjoy long rests (para descansar) Although the men were reasonably clean, it took "a cast iron stomach" to observe the long, dirty, matted, uncombed hair of kitchen maids and cooks suspended over the soup [125]

Begging in Mexico City, as in other preindustrial cities, was a profession [126] The law solemnly recognized the trade. It condemned begging among the able-bodied as vagrancy but tolerated that of the aged, infirm, or deformed as a necessary evil if no poor houses or other charitable institutions existed [127] Although schemes abounded to place honest beggars in the Hospicio de Pobres its limited capacity and extremely wretched physical condition made such projects unrealistic [128] Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the aged or handicapped obtained the legal right to beg by purchasing a license costing one-eighth of a real [129] There was not much shame attached to begging, and a few individuals readily admitted to the census takers that they earned their living "from providence" or by begging [130]

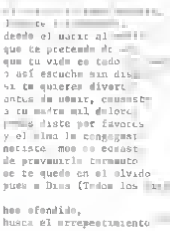
[illegible] beggars w[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]ng [illegible]

[illegible]ents or on his sol[illegible]

[illegible]lled *pord* o[illegible]cnous they began each request for alms with "*por Dios*"[132] Whether entering the churches of the rich or squatting in the portals of convents and churches, they were well received Woddy Thompson, an American diplomat, remarked that deformity was an asset because it guaranteed a man a secure income[133] The courtesy of the beggar was due to the special value that Latin Catholicism assigned to the act of charity The presence of the poor was considered to be the living and visible testimony of the presence of Christ and his doctrine They were allegorically called Christ and whomsoever aided them assured his eternal salvation The giver of alms benefited more than he who received The almsgiver often received more than the opportunity to perform an act of perfect grace[134] An old cripple observed by Thompson pandered to the crowd's sadistic impulses by performing epileptic fits during which he rolled on the ground and howled like a dog[135] Others rendered a higher level of entertainment. Two old beggars living under the portals of San Agustín would recite the following poem in unison

Enrucheme savegante
que vas entcende to cendte
etiende, pues que te nombra



desde el nacer al [illegible]
que te pretende de [illegible]
que tu vide es todo [illegible]
y así escucha mi dis[illegible]
si tu quieres divert[illegible]
antes de morir, cuanto[illegible]
a tu madre mal dolor[illegible]
[illegible] diste por favores
y el alma le congoja[illegible]
notiste moo se acaso[illegible]
de provecirle tormento
se te quede en el olvido
pues a Dios (Todos los [illegible] se quit[illegible]
el merecer[illegible]

hoo ofendido,
busca el arrepentimiento

Women numbered over half of Mexico City's population. They were an economically marginal group. Although a very few might be artisans, most found employment in domestic service: the production and sale of tortillas, atole, or sweets; or as laundresses.[138] Many worked in the factories, and when that was not in operation, they converted their tiny rooms into *estanquillos* (small shops). Table 13 lists the occupations of women residing on Manzana 168. Only three professions--dressmaking, midwifery, and working as a caretaker in a casa de vecindad, gave a poor woman any degree of status.

A *costurera* or *modista* (skilled seamstress) trained in European techniques and knowledgeable of European fashions could develop a wealthy clientele.[139] Single girls thought of the occupation as a way of meeting young men of good family. The trade was also a respectable occupation for

[redacted]

Prieto [illegible] daily and eight [illegible] that they could afford the genteel poverty of the middle class.[140] Other seamstresses listed in the census of 1849 lived in apartments drawing moderate to relatively high rents indicating that their profession earned them a degree of economic security and comfort.[141]

The partera (midwife) was more prestigious than the seamstress. Although only thirteen registered midwives appeared on the professional census of 1851, there were probably many more practicing in the barrios.[142] They provided a highly valued service. The midwife presiding over a childbirth in a middle-class Mexican family was the real 'professor of obstetrics," delivering the baby while the doctor comforted the godmother and the father by mumbling learned Latin phrases.[143]

The casera (female caretaker) ruled the casa de vecindad. In return for a free room, she assigned rooms, kept keys, locked the door at curfew, called the police when quarrels arose, and collected the rent. A wealthy author once described her as a friendly "regulating power involving herself in the residents' personal affairs with an authority that exceeded that of the owner."[144] Those "who had the misfortune to live in a casa de vecindad" thought differently of her.[145] Angry residents described her as a tyrannical

[redacted]

There were thousands of other ways [redacted] men and women gained a living in the capital. *Escarabajeros* scavenged the trash heaps for anything that could be sold to wear or eat. *Traperos* collected old rags and paper to sell to the paper factory. At the factory, women found employment washing the rags to prepare them for processing.[147] In the Plaza de la Constitución scribes sat waiting to pen letters for illiterate clients. A declaration of love cost one real, a insulting letter, one-half real, and an upbraiding, two reals.[148] Thousands of men worked as unskilled wage laborers for the municipality or for private construction projects. These men were frequently underemployed or unemployed because of the depression of the construction industry.[149]

In contrast to the artisans, the unskilled wage laborers demonstrated a consciousness based on clear economic interest rather than occupational solidarity. In November 1841 the foremen, laborers, and other wage earners employed by the city struck for payment in silver coins or double payment in copper.[150] The tobacco workers possessed a history of mutinies that dated from colonial times. In December 1841 the women workers of the tobacco factory on the Street of San Lorenzo held a sit-down strike to demand payment in silver currency. Soldiers called to the scene refused to enter the

[illegible] on fat the women o eck and [illegible] feet of the scimaore wielded by the angry workers [151]

By modern standards the Mexican poor when [illegible] employed, did not work many days of the year Construction laborers and other unskilled workers labored whenever employment was available Those who had the good fortune to be employed by the city experienced fell eed year round employment [152] These were probably the elite of the unskilled labor force The workers at the modern textile mills averaged 300 work days yearly [153] Artisans worked a five-day week taking Sunday and Monday off At least ten days more were taken off because of mandatory religious holidays including Christmas and Easter [154] Although foreigners reported that every saint's day was an excuse for a holiday, there is evidence from the late colonial period that poor artisans, defying guild regulations preferred to work on lesser religious holidays [155] Assuming full employment, a generous estimate is that an ordinary unskilled laborer worked 250 days a year [156]

Twelve-hour days were the rule The municipal labor force worked in twelve-hour shifts [157] Artisans employed in public workshops left work at 9 00 or 10 00 p m [158] Assuming a moderate estimate the late depositions indicate a regular twelve hour day *Rinconeros* and those who worked in their own homes labored at their own pace for as long as work lasted

Wages

Typical annual income and the level of subsistence at purchasing are far more significant problems than hours of employment. Jan Bazant is the only modern scholar who correlates the earnings of the urban republican worker with purchasing power. Using Manuel Lerdo de Tejada's 1857 estimate that the average Mexican spent $ 50 weekly on food, he concluded that the $3 earned weekly by the gañanero textile worker was more than enough to live on, especially when supplemented by the earnings of wife and children.[159] Bazant erred in applying Lerdo de Tejada's estimate, which correctly assumed the majority of the nation's poor to be rural laborers, to the urban worker. The cost of living was much higher in urban areas. During a series of articles discussing the copper money inflation, Siglo Diez y Nueve estimated that a bare subsistence income was one rial one-half reals daily--$67.5 annually per capita or $270 annually for a family of four.[160] The newspaper's estimates were commonly accepted. The per capita estimate is nearly identical to the $70 that tax legislation required "servants of the inferior sort" to calculate into their yearly incomes to cover the hidden wages of room and board. The $270 necessary to support a family of four is quite close to the $300 minimum annual income below which people lived in such misery that later legislation exempted them

[illegible] estimate may underestate the cost of subsistence. Some employers granted live-in workers an allowance of two meals a day to cover meals.[162]

The newspaper's estimate assumed full employment and sound currency. The treasury did not supply full employment, and the turmoil of copper money reduced real wages. Pitt received copper coins worth one eighth to one quarter of their face value. They purchased food from a merchant who adjusted his prices to reflect the real value of the coinage.[163] At times the merchant would adjust his prices even higher to protect himself from official devaluations or speculatory spirals. Real income consequently plummeted. Before 1837 the discount in copper money averaged 37 to 40 percent. After 1837 the discount would go as high as 75 percent but averaged 10 percent. Over the long run the wage laborer could lose 50 percent of his real income to inflation.[164]

Even without inflation, most of the poor earned less than the annual $270 to $300 necessary to support a family of four. Appendix C-2 lists survey wages. Male and female live-in servants received $3 to $5 a month. The pampered coachman received from $15 to $18 monthly, but $7 was expected to cover the expenses of his campaign.[165] Male servants living outside the house received $12 a month. An entire family engaged in domestic service would have an

trouble supporting itself from the combined income of its members. A single servant could maintain himself comfortably but a married man could not hope to support himself, his wife, and children on an income that came to little more than half of that assumed necessary for family subsistence.

The *aguador* earned about $4 for every 200 deliveries.[146] The demand for water was constant, and his earnings depended upon only his desire and his health. The wages paid to the city's street paving crews give some idea of what a fully employed, unskilled worker might earn. *Medio-cacharros* (semi-skilled workers) received wages of $3 a week. The unskilled men received $2.25 a week.[147] Their incomes come to $144 and $120 annually, far below the estimated level of family subsistence. Municipal workers, however, were the elite of the unskilled labor force because they enjoyed full employment. The annual income of those working in private construction or as simple day laborers may have been far lower.

The 150 artisans, some of whom were masters, listed on the industrial census of 1849 earned on average of $3 a week, identical to the *Amanuense* and unskilled laborer.[148] Table 14 shows the similar economic status of artisans and unskilled laborers by a comparison of mean rents. Seventy-one percent of the artisans paid the mean rents as 84 percent of the unskilled. Artisans, however, were the wealthier group. The percentage of artisans paying over $4 in rent was twice as high as that of the unskilled

[illegible] t [illegible] ll whether both artisans and laborers experienced constant employment [illegible] [illegible] ly daytimund and erratic economy probably caused unsteady employment for both groups The quantitative evidence is contradictory Over half of the unskilled vagrants requiring two or more trades to earn a living were unskilled laborers However 63 percent of the unskilled earning sufficient income to support a family were artisans Perhaps during hard times unskilled laborers changed jobs while artisans refused to abandon their crafts

The minimum income of artisans and unskilled laborers vary with the general rule that artisans could support a family on their incomes while the unskilled could not The conclusion is based on empirical studies of nineteenth century European and North American cities Most recently Michael Katz and Stephen Thernstrom demonstrated that the artisans of Hamilton, Ontario, and Newburyport Massachusetts, earned considerably more than the unskilled laborer Thurs from concluded that in Newburyport the unskilled laborer earned so little that he had to resort to thrift or crime in order to survive [149]

Fernando di Tellia in his article "The Dangerous Classes in Nineteenth Century Mexico," assumed that a wage differential between artisans and unskilled laborers existed in Mexico City The grounds for his assumption are the conclusions of European and North American researchers and the

statement is the *Museo Mexicano* that wages of a *jornalero* were scarcely enough to cover their necessities[170] His assumption is refuted by the inclusion of persons within the ranks of the miserable people and the quantitative data referred to above

The quantitative evidence that a poor man could not provide for his family is supported by the opinion of Juan Mosquera, author of a pamphlet advocating measures to increase the Republic's population

> A lad with good education will always earn enough to support himself but as man However when he is married he will not have saved enough money or scarcely future necessities like childbirth raising children and illnesses When these occur, the wage laborer goes into debt with his employers that he can never repay [171]

Although Mosquera uses the word *jornalero* (wage laborer) in the passage his reference to a lad with a good education indicates that he is referring to an artisan In the peninsular world apprenticeship to a skilled craft was the best education that a poor boy could obtain

The inability of an adult male to earn a subsistence income for his family leads on the assumption that the labor of his wife was a necessity for the survival of the family The thirty-eight females on the census of 1849 appeared as average wage of $1 00 a week [172] This amounted to $60 a year

and would bring the total family income of [redacted] semiskilled laborer to within 75 percent of the [redacted] statement level Particularly, most married [redacted] work On the censuses of 1942 and 1944 only [redacted] women or widows with a few exceptions gave their occupations.[173] Assuming the community of the wife's income to [illegible] subsistence, there seem to be two plausible reasons for the omissions The census taker recorded the husband's occupation and considered that if the wife too worked for income or he feared that inquiry into the wife's occupation would offend her husband.

The children of the poor worked constantly The age to one and one-half years daily that a child might make from making matches, sweets, fruit or newspapers were essential to the family The concomitance of poor children at school was commonly attributed to the parents' need for the child's wages.[174]

Single women or widows faced a difficult struggle on their meager earnings Sixty pesos annually would barely support a single person Many women chose to live together In the barrio of San Salvador el Seco, 27 percent of all matrifocal households were women living together In Necaxtlán 31 percent of the matrifocal households were female [illegible][175] Most female households possessed young children, and it is interesting to speculate that an older adult served as a baby sitter for working mothers

[redacted] the Imperial Society of Geography and Statistics noted that many prostitutes existed in Mexico City [redacted] opulent professions flourished. One of the few occupations to which women could more or decent income [175] The problem of young girls or widows turning to prostitution was so serious that it was argued before the ayuntamiento that foreign seamstresses should be encouraged to establish them selves within the city so that young girls would be taught [redacted] useful and moral trade [177]

Wealthy Mexicans believed that the poor artisans frittered away their spare money on gambling and drinking rather than saving it or spending it on the goods that would increase national production [178] The *Semanario Artistico* assumed the penurymore or prodigality were it encouraged the establishment of savings accounts and mutual benefit societies [179] It is doubtful however, that people who before reflection seemed scarcely enough to eat or half dress would consider anything more than an immediate pleasure with the few coins that they could save Inflation, according to the affluent contributors to *Siglo Diez y Nueve* made the development of thrifty habits an impossibility [180]

Zarformia Verdigul's case illustrates the fertility of saving She and her lover lived together for eight years, supporting themselves by selling fruit and eggs on the city's streets [181] When they married they had accumulated

savings provide some idea of [illegible] people might expect to save in eight years. Let us now examine whether it was sufficient to provide for life's emergencies. Marriage at the church of Santa Catarina Mártir cost $6.[102] A supervised childbirth, a frequent occasion for a loss of life of delicately boned women, required $15.[103] Burial in the cemeteries beyond the garitas (between 1833 and 1845, the only legal burial grounds) cost a minimum of $8--at least $4 for the frightened carpenter who carried the body and $4 more for the burial.[104] A shoemaker's tool kit adequate to earn one's living cost $8.[105] Any one expense would have exhausted the couple's life savings. Two at once would have driven them into debt.

Notes

[1] This figure differs slightly from that presented in the first chapter because small shopkeepers and other respectable nonartisanal trades were removed from the artisanal category to give a more accurate idea of its size. They amounted to no more than 5 percent of the category.

[2] See Table E-2.

[3] AAGN, tomo 4134, exps. 168, 185.

[4] Colegio artístico," *Semanario Artístico*, 16 noviembre 1845, p. 1.

[5] AAGN, tomo 2478, exp. 12.

[6] AAGN, tomo 4152, exp. 64, tomo 4134 exp. 185, tomo 4156 exp. 264b.

[illegible] tomo 4154, exp 188

[illegible] *...lo de la industria, manufacturas co...* [illegible] *y agricu...* [illegible] José M Flores Verdad, 4 tomos (México, D F 1852) tomo I, p 726

[9] AACM, tomo 4154, exp 163 "Fondo de beneficencia" *Semanario Artístico* 3 marzo 1844, p 4

[10] AACM, tomo 2478, exp 32 Joaquín Escriche, *Diccionario razonado* (París 1856) "Aprendizaje"

[11] AACM, tomo 4154, exp 171

[12] AACM tomo 4154, exp 43

[13] AACM tomo 4154, exp 185

[14] AACM, tomo 4153, exp 121

[15] AACM, tomo 4151 exp 3

[16] *Diccionario de la industria* tomo 1, pp 226 227

[17] *Ibid*

[18] AACM tomo 4152, exp 74

[19] *Diccionario de la industria*, tomo 1, pp 226, 227

[20] AACM tomo 4252, exp 74

[21] Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios*, p 285 Manuel Payno, *Bandidos de Río Frío* (México, D F, 1945)

[22] AACM, tomo 4154, exp 192

[23] AACM tomo 4161 exp 691

[24] AACM, tomo 2478, exp 32

[25] Remitido " *Semanario Artístico*, 3 agosto 1844, p 4

[26] AACM, tomo 4152, exp 64, tomo 4154, expe 64, 156, 198

[27] AACM, tomo 4252, exp 62, tomo 4154, exp 186, tomo 4157 exp 315b, tomo 4150, exp 356

[28] AACM, tomo 4154 exp 192

[29] AACM, tomo 4153, exp 121, tomo 4154 exp 185

[30] AACM, tomo 4152, exp 74

[31] *Los extranjeros y los aventureros* (México D F 1832) p 14 *Diario Oficial*, 11 agosto 1844, p 1

[32] AACM tomo 2478, exp 28

[33] Editorial, *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 11 noviembre 1841, p 3

[34] Francisco López Cámara, [illegible] ...ecuno-micano en la época de la Reforma (México, 1962)

[35] *Representación*

[36] The percentage is 21 percent for the 6,000 artisan [illegible] and 35 percent for the 10,000 artisan estimate

[37] Mayer, p. 83; Calderón de la Barca, p. 296

[38] AACM, tomo 4153, exp. 130

[39] Wilson, pp. 282-86

[40] Herbert G. Gutman, 'Work, Culture, and Society in [illegible]li...ing America, 1815-1919,' *American Historical Review*, June 1973, pp. 531-88

[41] García Cubas (1945), p. 241

[42] Prieto (1964), pp. 85, 86.

[43] AACM, tomo 4157, exp. 315b

[44] México, *Semanario Artístico*, 24 febrero 1844, p. [illegible] AACM, tomo 4151, exp. 9, tomo 4152, exp. 62, tomo 4779, [illegible] 5b.

[45] AACM, tomo 4779, exp. 343

[46] AACM, tomo 4151, exp. 36

[47] Roberto de la Cerda Silva, *El movimiento obrero en México* (México, D.F., 1961), pp. 59-62

[48] Diego G. López Rosado, *Historia y pensamiento económico de México*, 4 tomos (México, D.F., 1968), tomo 2, p. 280. Nerio del Carmen Marino Gamboa, 'Historia sociológica del trabajo en México' (Tesis, Licenciado en ciencias sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1969), p. 82. Rosendo Rojas Carlos, *Tratado de cooperativismo mexicano* (México, D.F., 1952), pp. 58-61.

[49] Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, trans. John Black, 3 vols. (New York, 1966), vol. 3, pp. 463-84

[50] Carrete Stampe, *Los gremios*, pp. 267-68.

[51] AACM, tomo 3853, exp. 21

[52] AACM, tomo 3854, exps. 18, 20

[53] AACM, tomo 3841, exp. 21

[54] AACM, tomo 3841, exps. 18, 20

[55] AACM, tomo 383, exps. 16, 20

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]ase de Vecindad," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 11 noviem-
[illegible] AACM, tomo 4154, exp 18b

[illegible]mbriagues " p 1

[illegible]o de " *Semanario Artistico*, 3 agosto 1844

[illegible] como 4152, exp 62 tomo 4154 exp 18b

[illegible]n de Santo Cruz *Patente de las Indulgencias* [illegible]Mexico D F 1849)

See Tables M-1 and B-2

[illegible]Cofradia de señor Hamahano *Patente de las Indulgencias* [illegible]Jarvieglos (Mexico, D.F., 183b)

[87] AACM tomo 2939 "Incidente de Gregorio Bonilla "

[88] AACM, tomos 4151-58, 4778-88

[89] AACM tomo 4154 exp 18b

[90] J R Vicat, *Boilbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1967) as quoted in Michael B Katz, Social Structure in Hamilton Ontario,'ed Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, *Nineteenth Century Cities* (New Haven Connecticut 1969) p 214

[91] "Fonducta de las otras" *Semanario Artistico* 9 febrero 1844, p 3

[92] "El trabajo" *Semanario Artistico*, 20 abril 1841 p 1 "Le embriaguez p 1 "Mexico," *Idem*, 2 febrero 1842 p 1 "Insurrección general," *Idem* 7 julio 1844, p 1 "El fuego nacional," *Idem* 4 mayo 1844 p 1 "Policia," *Idem* 7 abril 1844, p 1

[93] Rojas Cortes tomo 4, p 216

[94] The British social historian E J Hobsbawm notes that in the early nineteenth century European industrialists were undecided whether the capitalistic system or various utopian socialist systems were the most efficient forms of industrialized society. Their indecision in my opinion, reflects a vestigial sence of artisanal guilty, *Idem*, *The Age of Democratic Revolutions* (New York, 1962) p 304 William L Langer *Political Reform and Social Upheaval 1832-1852* (New York, 1969) pp 181-214

[95] AACM, tomo 3H3, exp 34

[96] *Representación*

[97] See Table E-3

[98] Thornton, pp 50-51

[99] See Table E 3

[illegible] Cubas (1945), p 240

[illegible] Ulde, *Siglo XIX y N[illegible]* noviembre 181[illegible]

[illegible] *o Mexicano* tomo 3 pp 173-75

[illegible] *Rivera Cambas*, tomo 2 ; 90

[illegible] *Rivera Cambas* tomo 2, p 90

[illegible] *o Mexicano* tomo 3, pp 173-75

[illegible]blan and Lezona, tomo 5, ley 3448

[illegible] *useo Mexicano*, tomo 3, pp 373-77

[illegible]AGN tomo 3673, exp 18

[illegible]AACM tomo 148, "Actas secretas de 10 octubre 1828 "

[12] Carefa Cubas (1945), pp 238-39

[13] Calderón de la Barca, p 110

[14] Carefa Cubas (1945) pp 238-39

[15] AACM, tomo 4153, exp 133 tomo 4154 exp 162

[16] Carefa Cubas (1945) p 219

[17] Ibid Table E-3

[18] *Museo Mexicano*, tomo 3 pp 373-77

[19] Calderón de la Barca, p 257

[20] Kaplan, p 51

[21] Calderón de la Barca, pp 253-57

[22] Noticia de los conventos del arzobispado de México, año de 1826 ' *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, no 3 (1953) p 475

[23] Calderón de la Barca, p 253

[24] Prieto (1964) p 206

[25] Calderón de la Barca pp 253-57

[26] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City* (New York 1960), p 203

[27] Escriche, "Vagos," "Mendigos "

[28] AACM, tomo 168, 'Acuse de 1 septiembre 1846

[29] AACM tomo 4158 exp 337

[30] AACM, tomo 3408 "Manzana 60"; tomo 3413, "Manzanas 168, 186 "

[31] Carefa Cubas (1945), pp 244 45

[111] Roxcon, p. [illegible] Thompson, p. [illegible] Mayer, p. [illegible]

[112] Thompson, p. 149

[113] María Jiménez Salas, *Historia de la asistencia social en España en la edad moderna*, Monografías Históricas-Sociales, vol. 4 (Madrid, 1958), pp. 9, 33, 64.

[114] Thompson, p. 149

[115] Carrio Cubeo (1945), p. 253

[116] AACM, tomo 3411, 'Copia del padrón de 1842.'

[117] See Table C-4.

[118] *Los extranjeros*.

[119] Priego (1964), p. 130

[120] AACM, tomo 3409, Manzana 57

[121] AGN, tomo 82

[122] Carrio Cubeo (1945), p. 102

[123] Rivera Cambas, tomo 2, p. 157

[124] Cosso, 'p. 2

[125] 'Remitido,' 23 octubre 1849, p. 3

[126] 'El pepel, *Semanario Artístico*, 25 enero 1845, p. 1

[127] Mayer, p. 40

[128] Félix P. Polevicuf, *México, historia de su evolución constructiva*, 6 tomos (México, D.F., 1955), tomo 2, pp. 198-200

[129] AACM, tomo 3284, exp. 14

[130] Bustamante, p. 24

[131] AACM, tomos 1272-1300

[132] Bazant, 'La industria textil,' p. 34.

[133] Mariano Josef Zúñiga de Ontiveros, *Calendario manual y guía para el año de 1820* (México, D.F., 1820), pp. 96-97

[134] Calderón de la Barca, p. 66. AACM, tomo 383, exp. 20.

[135] This is the exact figure that Keplow concludes the laboring poor of Paris worked, although it was calculated from entirely different data.

[136] AACM, tomos 1272-1300

[137] AACM, tomo 2849, 'Contra Abraham Monasterio, Juan Canalle y Roque Perez, 1853,' 'Contra Rafael Lerma, 1853.'

[illegible] Industria algodonera [illegible]

[illegible] 'Editorial,' *Siglo Diez y Nueve* [illegible] viembre 1841

Dúblan and Lozano, tomo 4, leyes 2311 2590

AACM tomo 4151 exp 9 tomo 2892 Contra Jos[illegible] El Chamizal, 1853

José María Cortina, Cabinas Sánchez, José María Conrel y, Rafael F Nurgia Ignacio Manon, Agustín Cruz José Arcemba, 'Sobre efectos de dinero de cobre,' *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 11 noviembre 1841 p 3

'Editorial,' 12 noviembre 1841, p 4

Mumno Mexicano, tomo 3, pp. 373-77

Ibid pp. 173-75.

AACM, tomos 1272-1300

See Table C-4

Kam, p 232 Stephan Thernstrom *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century Town* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964) p 22

De Tella: pp 79-105

Juan Wenceslao Barquera, *Disertación economica politica sobre los medios de aumentar la población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos y su ilustración y riqueza* (México D F., 1825) pp 10-16

See Table C-4

Dorothy T Estrada, "Las escuelas lancasterianas en la Ciudad de México," *Historia Mexicana*, vol 22, no 4, p 508 fn 33

AACM, tomo 2477 exp 30, tomo 2479, exp 389

AACM tomo 3413, Manzanas 57 and 60

Ateneo Mexicano, 1844, pp. 317-18 *Los extranjeros*, p 6 AACM, tomo 161, "Actas de 12 noviembre 1841" *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 16 julio 1848 p 4

Los extranjeros, p 3

AACM, tomo 522 exp 14 Otero, *Obras*, tomo 1, pp 139 47- Fernmart, p 84 Elliot Lisbow, *Tellmy's Corner* (New York, 1967)

"Cuentas de ahorros," *Semanario Artistico*, 7 julio 1844 p 2

Cuevas et al , p 3

AACM tomo 2869, Contra Zoferino Verdiguel

[illegible] pa[illegible] [illegible]ta Cat[illegible] a Mart[illegible]
[illegible] Filmeteca [illegible] [illegible] te de Ge colfgien [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]to 1832) c[illegible] [illegible]ols 16-21

[1] AACM, tomo 2710 [illegible] ca Diego Bolleo

[2] AACM, tomo 3675, [illegible]xp 6

[3] AACM, tomo 4154 exp 80 A cobbler took out a [illegible] obtain the money necessary to purchase the tool kit.

CHAPTER THREE

[illegible] STYLES, HEALTH, DEMOCR[illegible]

The [illegible] people who lived or th[illegible] exhibit[illegible] a[illegible]d in some control [illegible] of the city kept museums to d[illegible] which fortunately today appear t[illegible] in every way incredible

--Guillermo Prieto, 1884

Life Styles

[illegible]tically different life styles separated th[illegible] [illegible]i from the white and European-based upper and [illegible] classes. For the sake of contrast, the differences in clothing, diet, and habitations will be described in detail.

About 1850 a truly elegant young man wore cashmere wool pants embroidered with branches, flowers, and even dolls. The decorations created the impression that the garment was made of carpeting material. A broad tie of many brilliant colors fastened by a sparkling glass solitaire fell across [illegible] finely pleated shirt which was covered by a velvet waist coat colored cherry, sea green, or Prussian blue. His outer garment was an overcoat or an enormous Spanish cape with a

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] cth was not [illegible]
[illegible] halts work [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] -ppid ar [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] d cotton bales Cursing one's legs wh[illegible]
neated in company snapped the garter hair Tight corsets
tortured the women Walking in the streets was impossible
because full skirts sheltered passers-by and collected
filth During the rainy season it was impossible for women
to walk abroad because the street puddles immediately
refitted their interior petticoats During formal visits
[illegible]ldmen averted their eyes as the ladies struggled when
seating themselves to keep their hoops from rising to
indecorous heights [6]

The clothing of the poor was a historical scandal In 1789 Viceroy Revillagigedo wrote of "the shameless and indecent nudity of a great part of the plebs who were only in tattered blanket or a filthy jerkin that does not manage to cover them entirely" The women complained a police official was worse in every way worse than the men looking the slightest chance or the slightest fear Clothing orders were issued and demanded such simple additions as a shirt, a cotton jacket or vest, half-breeches, and shoes [7]

The high price of clothing fostered nudity Workers indebted themselves to purchase the simple garments required by law Shoes were expensive and the thrifty purchased these stripped from the victims of contagious disease [8] Most went barefoot

[illegible] brought many [illegible] in the dress of the poor. In 1825 Henry Ward, the British ambassador to Mexico, reported that cudity had disappeared from the streets of Mexico City because of the importation of cheap British textiles.[9] Robert Wilson made a similar observation in 1854.[10] Lucas Alamán, an enthusiastic promoter of Mexican industrialization, claimed the change in dress was due to the modernization of the Mexican textile industry. According to Alamán, before independence the cheap cotton cloth from which the poor fashioned their clothing cost three reals per vara in 1843 the best quality cloth cost two reals per vara and was twice as thick representing a real savings of two thirds and increasing the per capita consumption of the material.[11] The ayuntamiento's records confirm Alamán's. In 1844 and 1845 the wholesale price of cheap cotton cloth at the Plaza de México was one and three-fifths reals per vara.[12]

Ready-made clothing was prohibitively expensive. The least expensive pair of trousers to be purchased at the better shops of the Acordada prison sold for $2 two thirds of a poor man's weekly salary. The prices of vests and jackets began at $1.75 and $2.00 respectively.[13] Used clothing was also expensive. The average artisan worked over a day to earn the five reals to purchase a pair of cotton trousers; a $2 serape represented nearly two thirds of his weekly wages. A cotton blanket or a quilt required

three days of labor or twelve reals. Poor but [illegible] coat seventeen reals, over four days' wages.[14]

Pastoral nudity remained. In 1841 the *ayuntamiento* complained that naked beggars assailed the customers of tea and ice cream parlors. The exposure of the women [illegible] offended the public decency.[15] About the same time, Prieto wrote of the people of the pequeño barrios:

> One could not say that they were dressed, because one should not qualify rags as dress. They were great consumers of the products of Puebla and Iglesias [manufacturers of cheap textiles] of tobacco and *galleguitas*; however unwavering in all their amplitude, men in half-trousers with half their body naked.[16]

At least the poor dressed shabbily. According to the *Museo Mexicano*, a typical *lépero* wore a straw sombrero; a patterned blanket or serape; bread, white cotton breeches or half breeches of leather fastened by a belt of small [illegible] wore shoes; he had scavenged them from the trash.[17] [illegible] table artisans dressed badly. The oblled wax sculptor painted by Mayer was scarcely distinguishable from a *lépero*.[18] Clothing merged all poor men into an indistinguishable mass. Edward Tylor and a friend remarked on the shabbiness of dress after visiting the Acordada in 1857.

> The inmates were brown Indians or half-breed Mexicans appearing to belong to

[illegible] t
[illegible]t go of t[illegible] [illegible]treete
[illegible]ou side As my [illegible] said: "If
these fellows are [illegible]d mur-
deress we are o[illegible] and so is
every one in e s[illegible] we meet in
the streets"[19]

Only during religious festivals did poor men show a degree of sartorial elegance and imagination. During the carnival they became "fantastic knights in their glittering accouterments."[20] The costumes were expensive. *Aguadores* pledged their water deliveries months in advance to purchase Holy Week costumes.[21]

Women dressed with slightly more decorum than the men. A well dressed *mestiza* wore white cotton petticoats, a cotton blouse colored a sober blue, brown, or grey, and a small, equally sober rebozo or shawl which passed over the arch of a hair comb perched atop her head.[22] At her best dressed more colorfully, hair neatly combed and dark eyes shining, she became the idealized *china*.[23] The *léperas* never approached that ideal.

> Continually slovenly with her hair in disorder, a disheveled blouse, mended petticoats with patches of a thousand colors and even of leather, [she] was always collecting cigar or cigarette butts, eating fruit peels, and drinking mescal in the doors of the wine shops.[24]

In the colonial period clothing were b[illegible] pre-tize and Indios readily marked caste Clothing, or the Republic served a similar purpose The caste system was dead however, the sparse, ill-fitting ragged, and filthy dress of urban mestizos marked them as peiche John Tyler thought the upper classes abhorred the sarape as a lower class mark Whne he attempted to visit a friend's house while wearing one, he was set upon by the watchdog [23]

Usually the capital was well provisioned In 1857 Mexico City imported 25,677 head of cattle, 151,246 sheep and goats, 71,814 hogs 91 194 cargas (one carga is equivalent to approximately 250 pounds) of maize 23 299 cargas of barley, and 122,981 cargas of wheat [26] The provisions were given by an extended hinterland Maize vegetables, and livestock came from areas immediately surrounding the city and from a few patches of arable ground surviving within the perimeter [27] The haciendas of Chalco thirty miles southwest were the traditional sources of maize but careless cultivation of the Valley of Mexico resulted in inconsistent and insufficient harvests [28] With the late-colonial famines, authorities developed more distant sources of supply [29] The plain of Toluca some sixty miles distant, provided hams, wheat, maize, and beans [30] Wheat came from as far away as Orizaba in the state of Vera Cruz [31]

Food for the wealthy and the middle classes was plentiful and varied Guillermo Prieto described a typical middle

[illegible] wild sweet[illegible] chocolate [illegible] for children. Coffee with milk and toast, biscuits, at pastries followed. A large glass of distilled water completed the meal. At eleven o'clock, chocolate or cream was served with desserts. Mid-afternoon supper consisted of bread soup, an 'enemic' roast garnished with mustard and chile sauce, eggs in chile, and a wide variety of local vegetables. The populer house, favored of the landholders, the consolidation of the hungry, the heavenly head, served with pickled onions, cheese, and spiced sauces occupied the plane of honor and was plentiful. For dessert, heavy flavored with roasted orange ground toasted tortillas. Snorkers refreshed at night with a light dinner of *mole*, stewed meat, and a lettuce salad. During holidays and family reunions, tables were laden amphimously with expert pamphmetians.[32]

The diet of the peon was spartan and unappetizing. At breakfast, pastries or bricoche rolls were washed down with atole, clear tea, or aguardiente.[33] At irregular intervals throughout the day they were sustained with "three friends"--maize tortillas, beans, and chile--supplemented by morsels of meat so fat that "would horrify any rational stomach."[34] This diet was so frugal that nutritionists hailed the introduction of green vegetables, fresh fruit and pemmidge during the last years of the Porfiriato (1876-1910) as a significant nutritional advance.[35]

The poor did not eat at home. Food was purchased from sidewalk vendors and restaurants. The extremely poor were concerned with chile hoiled in lard, beans, and lump of meat on a tortilla. Lacking eating utensils, they folded the tortilla to create an *empanada* (turnover). The more fortunate carried clay plates and used the tortilla as a fork.[36]

Wholesale-food cost lists for the republican period similar to those upon which Enrique Florescano based his masterful study of late-colonial maize prices do not exist.[37] Fortunately, political crises and epidemics motivated a series of price-fixing decrees that give some idea of food costs. In 1832 and 1841, a 42 ounce loaf of common bread cost one real. During the cholera epidemic of 1833, a 30-ounce loaf sold for one real.[38] Whereas bread, however, was too expensive for the poor whose staple was maize.[39] The price of inexpensive Toluca maize varied with the harvests.[40] Table 15 shows its price per carga during the years for which there are records. The average price for the eight-year period was $8.75. One real could purchase 5 pounds of maize. Table 15 also compares the price per carga of beans for a six-year period. The average price for the period was $9 per carga or one real for each 4 pounds.

The published prices seem inexpensive, but do not represent the true cost of food. The quotation of price per carga indicates these were wholesale prices. The retailer m

[illegible] the cost of food o[illegible] large p[illegible] the poor man's budget In the co o l period was common for the poor to flee the market without paying re previsions [41] In 1850 the Society of Charity attributed the irregular school attendance of poor children to the difficulty in obtaining meals

> They continually present themselves at school at eleven or twelve o'clock because, being extremely needy people, their parents cannot send their children to school until they give to them the first meal of the day, which they cannot do unless they complete a product that they can sell or pawn some garment [42]

When the Society decided to attract the children to school by serving a breakfast of bread and tea, hungry children swamped the schools

The natural uncertainties of the early republican decades were not comparable to late-colonial famine cycles and deprivations of the wars of independence [43] In 1830 the Ministry of Interior Relations reported a three-year drought causing a scarcity of provisions In 1834 cholera's ravages among the rural population checked wheat and maize harvests [44] The wheat crop on the plain of Toluca and the Valley of Mexico was destroyed by the winter hail of 1842 The scarcity continued into 1843 Indian laborers hid from government press gangs and could not be mustered to harvest the crops [45]

[redacted] was of relative adequacy [redacted] low In 1843 the Ministry of Industry Agriculture [redacted] Colonization complained e good harvest depressed food prices because there was no demand for the surplus[44] Waddy Thompson reported that food for the lower classes was relatively scarce but always sufficient to insure survival[47] Mexico City bakers' beastful threat that the capital never experienced a revolution for lack of bread reflected the availability of food[48]

The relative abundance of food never justified Manuel [illegible]'s claim that unlike the European workman the Mexican would not be forced to work by the threat of starvation[49] Slow death was the fate of those unable to work, too proud to beg, and too unused to steal Krantz Meyer fed and clothed a little beggar boy suffering from tuberculosis The child said the first outfit he received to buy food for his mother stricken with rheumatism and unable to feed her family for a month[50]

Man accomplished what nature failed to do Revolution and inflation caused numerous short but serious famines During the crises the *ayuntamiento* tried to keep the price of food low It considered, and then abandoned as too expensive various schemes to purchase maize for distribution to the poor at no cost or at nominal prices Requests for contributions drew an unfavorable response from nearby haciendas At a last resort, the *ayuntamiento* fixed the prices of staples

at unrealistically low le[illegible] to [illegible] commodities off the market In 1841 a civil servant vividly described how the starving vented their anger and frustration:

> The people will ask for bread and there will be no bread to give them They will cry that they are hungry and they will not remain silent or sate their hunger because there is no food Finally they will begin to move rabidly, their terrible and disorderly masses becoming more violent as they rampage to wherever they believe they will find food Nothing will be sacred to them and nothing will contain their irresistible force.[51]

The quality of the food and beverages consumed by the [illegible] was dangerously low The city could not maintain the [illegible]y of its water supply The "sot" water from the Chapultepec aqueduct contained a high content of mud and miscrele The "thin" water from Santo Fe was relatively clean.[52] During the rainy season, the waters of both aqueducts became so contrated with impurities that filtration was necessary Even after filtration, it sickened sensitive palates.[53] Throughout the year, the smaller aqueducts feeding the central portions of the city silted up with mud which transformed the flowing current into a miasmic puddle.[54]

Mud- minerals, and the rainy season were the will of God The people dangerously polluted their own water supply Tanners wax chandlers, starch makers and pork butchers dumped wastes into the aqueducts and the portion of the Canal

[illegible] the water s[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] lhu ca[illegible] wi[illegible] [illegible] receptacle [illegible] [illegible] t d ai ed from nearby dunghills Private in- [illegible] damped household trash and fecal material into the aqueducts fountains and canals in which they also bathed [53]

The city did little to protect the quality of the water Aesthetic considerations rather than a concern for public health motivated efforts to keep cesspit contents flowing In 1832 the inhabitants of a block in the center of the city complained that poisonous gases reeking from a stopped-up aqueduct endangered their health An inspector from the Junta de Sanidad confirmed the condition but declared that it was not dangerous because the residents appeared to be generally healthy Although municipal regulations forbade the dumping of liquid or fresh wastes into the aqueducts, the disposal of dry wastes by that method was permitted No regulation effectively prevented the pitchers from polluting the water supply [54]

The germ theory of disease was unknown, but many suspected that drinking the water was linked to disease In 1851 Doctor Isidoro Olivera, a veteran of the cholera epidemic of 1833 and 1850 wrote a study of the disease He concluded that those who drank "fat" water or even "slender" water always suffered the most [55] Fifty years later a British physician in the Indian civil service proved that cholera was spawned in and spread by a contaminated water supply [56]

wa[illegible] Tamales sol[illegible] the spoiled flesh of pigs and [illegible] a more palatable meat of dogs fattened on maize Entrails taken from the cadavers of scavenger dogs found in the streets appeared in the shops as beef or pork tripe [59] The food sold at the sidewalk stands and restaurants was no better A colonial official condemned these small Mexico City eateries which encouraged the poor to

> eat and drink very often and not at regular hours, which irregularity greatly influences unhealthiness because of the natural upsets [attacks of diarrhea] that they cannot contain upon the moment they occur without asking pardon or any permission [60]

[illegible] a century later a correspondent for the Boletin Mexico [illegible] reported a more modern reason for the relationship between the small restaurants and the "natural upsets" of their customers. The sidewalk restaurants in the barrio of Maxamaxac sold two-or three day-old food stored in unwashed earthenware crocks and served it with unwashed dishes and spoons. The correspondent concluded that the restaurants' food was at the root of the digestive disorders that plagued the city [61]

Fresh food became contaminated while awaiting sale Sanitary food-handling procedures were unknown When it

maimed the poorer marchers. The corn market plaza carried on their commerce

> in the mud between fruit pushers, fishers in a remuda of fowl and all species of offal. The filth and the pestilence were notable among the fruit, remains of fish, frogs, salamanders, etc., and putrefied fruit, fat tripe, sweetbreads, meat pies, and other indecent and half-cooked meats.[62]

Fruits were further debased after purchase by a customary [illegible], in the aqueducts or fountains.[63]

The food was badly adulterated. People watched milk [illegible] directly from the cow to be assured of its purity.[64] The pulque cuchu with which was flavored with bananas, lime nitrate of soda, and unspecified poisons. Although the Junta de Sanidad forbade the use of Prussian Blue and other chemical dyes to color fruit and pastries, confectioners throughout the city sold pastries colored by these substances. We learn on authority that the *Diccionario de la industria, manufacturera, comercio y agrícola* recommended these use as food colorings.[65] Bakers regularly substituted wheat for coffee and tremore of lead for egg in sweetbreads that the poor ate for breakfast. Flagrant adulterations prompted the creation of the Junta de Sanidad.[66]

Mexico City's homes were often solid, two-or three-story buildings of porphyry or porous amygdaloid.[67] Ornen,

[illegible] [illegible] otecge cirmese or distemper whit[illegible] exteriorm hentowed moode that were knight and gay [illegible] A thick, wooded door was the only access from the street to a large ceneiul patim Across the patio, a staircase led to corridors and interior porticoes The houses of the wealthy were quite spacious... Peony Calderón de la Barca's house provides an example. The graced floor of her home resembled a small village Twenty rooms that accommodated servant quarters and storerooms surrounded a patio graced by two fountains and a garden The upper floor contained the kitchen, the owner's private chambers and dining and drawing rooms These chambers were large and well furnished The drawing room of the Countess de Cortina contained cabinets inlaid with gold, hundreds of rich and curious things, and an imported English piano The flat roof served as an attractive balcony and might be planted in a garden An uncomfortable dampness mated the luxury. During the rainy season, water poured through the grated floor windows and under the front door, imparting the flooded appearance of "a cross-bred between a palace and a barn."[69]

Table 16 lists the mean rents of the six most common dwellings encountered on the sample survey Large, well-built houses were expensive One advertised in *Siglo Diez y Nueve* cost $6,800.[70] The mean rent for the tandem sample of 1848 was $40 monthly, or $480 annually A suitable residence for a member of the diplomatic corps might rent for

[illegible] diomate [illegible] themes rents [illegible] incredibly high, at least three times those of New York [71]

The middle class lived in *viviendas* (apartments) in the more substantial *casas de vecindad*. If the *vecindad* contained two floors, apartments were upstairs and the simple rooms or servant quarters downstairs.[72] The preference of the middle class for the dry, upper floors caused vertical social stratification within the *vecindad*.[73] For example, the upper floor of a *vecindad* on Manzana 138 contained thirty apartments renting for $6.4 in which fourteen inhabitants resided. The ground floor contained fifteen rooms renting for $2. Forty-four persons occupied the ten rented rooms.[74] If the *casa de vecindad* had one story, then an elegant apartment was likely to be in the front.[75] The mean rent of the 175 apartments of the random sample was $18 monthly or $216 annually.

Apartments were spacious and comfortable. Guillermo Prieto gave us a charming portrait of a middle-class dwelling. A steep stairway led to a corridor paved with red varnished millstones. The corridor was embellished with cages filled with stuffed birds and canaries, wind chimes, and earthen crocks packed with dried foods and vegetables. Landscapes of the Paseo de la Viga at Chapultepec hill adorned the walls. Comfortable chairs and couches of tule painted coffee and green furnished the principal chamber. Campfields occupied

[illegible] large [illegible] small children [illegible] large [illegible] nose of a small family slept with [illegible] in [illegible] compartments of the main [illegible]. The dining room [illegible] a washstand holding towels, soap, straw, and a measuring stone for garnishing. Colored vegetables, pots and pans used [illegible] the kitchen walls [illegible] with strips of garlic and pepper for a festive air. A huge barrel of water stood in its center.[76]

The dwellings of the poor were considerably less substantial. The jacal or shack of sun-dried brick faced with adobe accounted for 3.4 percent of the habitations in the survey.[77] Location in poor barrios probably required its underrepresentation on the census of 1849.[78] The jacal was often a solitary unit, occasionally groups of them were arranged around a central patio and enclosed by a corral or wall. The mean rent of the jacales was $1.7 a month.

The poor common type of lower-class habitation was the rented room or *accesoria* within the *casa de vecindad*. Single rooms and *accesorias* were over 40 percent of the habitations listed on the sample. The *accesoria* fronted the street, her most rooms opened onto a large corral patio. Not all *accesorias* were habitations of the humble. Judging from their rents, some housed large orders or were apartments

[illegible] stories were

[illegible] *vecindad* originated [illegible] the late eighteenth century when the owners of large private houses divided the spacious interior apartments into small rooms and rented them to an expanding population [79] *Vecindad* design paralleled that of the wealthier homes The poor man's *vecindad* was a one story building to the barrios [80] Typical *vecindades* listed on the census of 1848 contained fifteen or twenty rooms some grouped as many as fifty rooms about two or three patios [81] A humble *vecindad* of two stories might rent sleeping space on the ground floor George Ruxton visited one such flophouse where the poor of both sexes slept on the muddy northen floor, rolled in their serapes [82] Sleeping space rented from one-eighth to one-quarter real a night [83] A small fountain standing in the middle of the patio served as the center of drinking water, washtub, and laundry [84]

The annual rent of a room mean to no more than 15 percent of an artisans annual income Many however, could not afford it Anne Staples concluded in her examination of convent-owned housing that much of the tenants' poverty was due to the inability of the tenants to pay their rents Although the nuns needed the rent desperately, only pressure from the archbishop could force the tenderhearted sisters to turn the delinquent tenants out into the streets [85]

[illegible]f Staple's r[illegible]o firmed by the account books of the houses owned by the Cofradía of the Santísimo Sacramento y Beleda de Nuestra Señora One of its vecindades contained twenty-four habitations whose rents ranged from $1 50 to $3 00 a month Each room rented for an average of 1.7 times a year All but five of the tenants eventually fell in arrears All debtors vacated owing sums ranging from $4 6 to $18 Only a female weaver owing $18 attempted to repay the debt She pawned her loom for $15 and turned the sum over to the landlord The casera displayed great flexibility, collecting rents by the week, by the month, or whenever the tenants could pay a small installment on their debt No evictions appear, but the account book may not have distinguished among those who fled, those who vacated legitimately and those who suffered evictions [88] Shrewd caseras in other vecindades collected rents by the week to prevent the accumulation of large arrears [87]

Many Mexicans slept in the streets In 1824 Joel Poinsett estimated that as many as 20,000 slept "beneath the dosel of heaven" [89] Others lived in the ruins that abounded in the city Thanks to the bravery of two census takers, a few of the ruins appear on the census of 1849 however because of their unsavory reputations as the haunts of thieves and cutthroats they were probably underrepresented [90]

[illegible] ie the ouins endered miserable, esh- [illegible] ns exposed to the elements and risking death from collapsing walls or the fever [90] Other habita- tions were no less tac down The shocks weathered into the whapes of holes in the med [91] The consus taker of Macsana 180 on the eastern fringes of the city appended his returns with this note

> This is to serve notice that the shocks listed on this block are out of impor- tance but of adobe and mud, the greater part without corners; exposed earthen floors; some have roofs of pebbles with- out any frame For the expressed reasons, one assessment some of very low value and some that are worthless [92]

Greedy landlords neglected to repair or pave the ground floors of *vecindades* [93] One eleven-room *vecindad* of Necatitlan contained four unoccupied rooms in ruins The seven remaining were occupied but were probably in an equally ruinous condition [94]

The interior of the houses were filthy Trash en- closed the fountain cluttered the stairways, and covered the floors of lower rooms whose 'ant-like inhabitants lacked the slightest trace of cleanliness [95] Constant dampness created its own problems and intensified those associated with the filth The exposed ground-floor rooms were below street level Throughout the year ground water seeping into

e rooms created an atmosphere of acute humidity [96] During the rainy season, water pouring in from the unpaved streets seeping up slowly through the unpaved floor buried the rooms in a foul concoction of mud, garbage and human feces [97] In such times the houses were abandoned their former inhabitants augmenting the numbers of street dwellers in the dismal regions of the city [98] In 1903 a newspaper reporter wondered how human beings could exist in the crumbling substreet-level *cesarias* surviving in the southern barrios [99]

The concentration of so large a population within a very small area in a city whose largest dwellings were three stories high produced a considerable degree of crowding Although the census of 1849 shows vacancy rates nearing 50 percent in some *vecindades* the vacancies were likely attributable to absent or unspeculative tenants [100] Residents and visitors reported lower-class dwellings crammed with people Amazed by the "small villages" contained within the *vecindades* Thompson wondered why the large open spaces of the city remained undeveloped [101] Married couples rented living space on stairwell landings or in the corners of occupied rooms [102] In the cheerless, gray *vecindades* of the southeastern barrios tiny rooms enclosed entire families and everything necessary to maintain life in the suffocating and lethal atmosphere [103] Even the more prosperous artisans lived under crowded conditions The two room flat of the wax sculptor visited by Brantz Mayer possessed one room "large enough to turn around

[illegible] and [illegible] family small, was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

exaggerated the govern-
ne the terrenote of
[17] of the Distrito
Federal contemplated a
[redacted] to forestall an expected
outbreak of cholera. He was succeeded by the ayuntamiento
who reasoned very properly that the law would be a dead letter.[15]
The only housing action that the government ever enforced was
a repainting of all houses after the cholera epidemic of 1833.[16]

The environs of Mexico City embraced further dangers
and discomforts. Fire menaced the city. After a series of
[illegible] fires in 1838, the city remembered seriously the re-
moval of crucifixes from church steeples and convents because
they acted as lightening rods.[17] Guillermo Prieto recalled
flames which swept Mexico City in 1850 accompanied by wide-
spread looting.[18]

The cramped houses literally spilled their occupants
into the streets. Obstruction of the broad avenues reflected
the competition for space. Artisans and merchants blocked
traffic by placing their wares and furniture in the streets.[19]
Within the barrios, meetings and fandangos of "low condition"
people shanks in the middle of thoroughfares.[20] Embroils of
alleys, these remnants of habitable construction, of existence
quagmires pierced the heart of the city.[21] Because the clogged
streets blocked passage of the larger horse-drawn vehicles
the *cargador* commonly transported bulk freight.[22] Thompson
reported an uncomfortable feeling of crowdedness as he
strolled through the central areas of the city.[23]

TABLE 15
[illegible] AND BEANS

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Source
1d	$5		Ward
1832	8	[illegible]	AACM tomo 293
1833	6	[illegible]	AACM, tomo 3676, exp 4
1841	8	0.4 (per almud)	AACM, tomo 2279, p. 98
1847	7	10	AACM, tomo 2266 exp 60
1848	5	8	"Precios de necesidades primarias," *Monitor Republicano*, 29 mayo 1848, p. 4
1851	7	9	Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de 1851* (México, n.p., 1851)
1852	4	5	Almonte

NOTE: One carga = 250 lbs.

TABLE 16
RESIDENCE AND MEAN RENTS

Residence	Number	Percentage	Mean Rent per Month
Mesón	235	18	$40
Room	629	47	2
Accessoria	197	15	8
Vivienda	195	14	18
Entresuelo	24	2	20
Jacal	46	3	2

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author for the sample survey from the census of 1849. AACM, tomo 3406

TABLE
EPIDEMIC OF MEASLES AND DYSENTERY
IN THE SAGRARIO AND SAN SEBASTIÁN 1847

Month	Sagrario		San Sebastián		San Pablo	
	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths	Births	Deaths
Jan	136	94	62	38	51	20
Feb	101	84	33	28	44	16
Mar	85	69	65	48	49	10
Apr	135	81	33	35	58	17
EPIDEMIC BEGINS						
May	119	104	37	43	47	18
June	143	150	15	42	41	26
July	119	139	8	32	51	38
Aug	146	116	51	107	40	25
Sept	106	150	38	72	40	37
Oct	103	121	40	44	47	19
Nov	104	88	37	30	43	17
Dec	108	132	30	43	30	21

SOURCE: AACM, tomo 727 expe. 1-15

TABLE 18
SCARLET FEVER VICTIMS SAGRARIO, 1844

Age	No	Months in Which Victims Died					
0-4	24	Jan.	0	May	6	Sept	3
5-9	12	Feb.	4	June	10	Oct	0
10-14	2	Mar	1	July	3	Nov	5
15+	11	Apr	12	Aug	1	Dec	4

Total 49
City total 180

SOURCE: AACM, tomo 729, exp 16

TABLE 19
PERCENTAGE OF [illegible]
IN NECATITLÁN, SAN SALVADOR EL SECO
AND THE SAMPLE MALE POPULATION

Age Bracket		Necatitlán	San Salvador el Seco	Sample Population
15-19				16
20-24	M	20	35	
0-24	F	30	40	
0-29				26
5-29	M	45	30	
> 29	F	40	50	
30-39				31
30-34	M	30	65	
30-34	F	30	50	
35-39	M	45	40	
35 39	F	45	45	
40-49				29
40 44	M	30	50	
40-44	F	35	55	
50 59				28

SOURCE For the sample male population, the census of 1849 AGM, tomo 3406. For Necatitlán and San Salvador el Seco AAGM, tomos 3409 and 3413

[a]Total sample male population = 1364

TABLE 20
DEPENDENCY RATIOS

	Youth	Aged	Total
Necatitlán	32	13	46
San Salvador el Seco	58	4	62
Manzana 57	70	5	75

SOURCE AAGM tomos 3409, 3413, 3411.

TABLE 21

LEGITIMATE/ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

[illegible]	Year	Total Births	Illegitimate Births	[illegible]
San Pablo	1830	566	103	18
San Miguel	1830	270	72	27
San Sebastián	1830	317	67	21
San Pablo	1834	609	136	22
Sagrario	1838	385	82	21
San Sebastián	1842	358	104	29
San José	1842	511	167	33
San Pablo	1842	592	104	18

SOURCE Mexico City, Filmoteca del Instituto de Genealógica y Heraldía, rolles 310 311 976, 993, 997, 1003 1550 1551

TABLE 22

CROSSTABULATION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE WITH MEAN RENT

Age at Marriage	Mean Rent	Age at Marriage	Mean Rent
16	$ 1	29	$10
17	2	30	7
18	3	31	16
19	2	32	5
20	10	33	13
21	4	35	7
23	5	36	8
24	10	37	11
25	6	38	20
27	10	39	22
28	33	40	4

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author for the random sample from the census of 1848, AACM, como 3404

TABLE 27

OF HOUSEHOLD

	1
	11
	10
	17
	26
	18
	24

Compiled and computed by the author from the census
AACM tome 3405

[redacted] unpaved and undrained streets accumulated [redacted] and trash dumps [124] Piles of refuse lay in the middle of streets and leaned against the sides of houses [125] Pigs roamed the streets, spreading offal throughout various neighborhoods Eventually the trash accumulated into *muladares* (huge piles) deposited in the plazas and sometimes at large intersections The obstructions created by the mounds became so ominous that a committee of citizens suggested that vacant lots be legally designated as dumps and privies [126]

The inefficiency of trash collectors made the giant *muladar* a permanent eyesore Contractors responsible for getting the trash from the city defaulted with regularity and the *muladares* multiplied in size and number [127] In 1841 a private citizen complained to *Siglo Diez y Nueve* that the *muladares* were the size of small mountains and seriously impeded the flow of traffic [128] During four months in 1846 when the collectors were not operating, the total number within the city grew from thirteen to twenty-eight [129] Zanjas (drains) dug from the *muladares* to nearby canals or the central gutter of each street added to the impediments of traffic and general squalor [130]

Summaries of filthy streets, a stroll in any part of the city endangered one's health [131] The educated acknowledged a relationship between the *muladares* and unspecified fevers scarlet fever, and cholera but were unsure of the

optimism.[132] One doctor argued before the *ayuntamiento* that although the geese produced by the trash might cause fevers, trash strewn in the streets dried too fast to be a risk to hazard public health. The *ayuntamiento* remained unconvinced. After requiring burning as a method of trash disposal, it decided to dump the trash into Lake Texcoco, an important source of municipal drinking water.[133]

Streets with no pavement and inadequate drainage supplemented the oppressive circumstances. The rains of late summer neglected in putrid puddles.[134] When flooding occurred, thoroughfares became impassable. The Tezcatzongo bridged streets with long wooden planks.[135] In the southern barrios, sewers replaced what as the principal means of transportation. The pointed waters of Lake Texcoco ventured indistinctly the filth throughout the foreign barrios.[136]

Pointed air assailed the most insensitive nostrils. In the heart of the city, the fumes of burning cause and chile, wafting from respectable houses of momentum, burned the eyes of well-to-do residents. The stench rising from animal wastes carelessly strewn around the shops of butchers, candle makers, and tanners contaminated the atmosphere of entire neighborhoods. Foul odors from stopped up aqueducts of filthy central gutters were dominant symptoms of unexplained.[137]

The frightful conditions of the barrio incited a man's appearance.[138] Foreign visitors wrote of the "miserable,

[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [

The wretched health of the population is reflected by the records of the "Ramo de Hemogreffe" in the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México [146] The records include prescriptions of the causes of deaths listed on the hospital and parish registers. Many of the diseases noted on the registers—for example, pneumonia, measles, and scarlet fever—are readily recognizable to the modern reader. Others describe symptoms of diseases rather than modern diseases. Fiebre contínuosa, for example, is a variety fever that appears in cases of typhoid and paratyphoid [147] Fortunately, older medical dictionaries may correlate the archaic diseases with its modern equivalent, and the modern reader is given a clue to the actual cause of death.

The records reveal a veritable slaughter of the infants. Tables I 1 through I 3 are mortality tables of ages at death during the years 1842, 1844, and 1850. In 1842 and 1844 approximately 36 percent of the city's total number of recorded deaths were children under three years of age. Thirty-eight percent of all deaths occurred below the age of ten in 1850. Because the death of an unbaptized infant received unsecured the parish registrars underrepresent the real infant mortality rate [148] The number of deaths in the late-childhood and early-adolescent years were quite low. The percentages grew markedly in the

[redacted] digestive [redacted] tract [redacted] stomach [redacted] Table J-1 depicts the causes of death for the entire city in 1942 and 1944. Many were specific to particular ages, sexes, and occupations. Table J-2 depicts the cause of death for children under ten years in the Sagrerin. Alfuncion, the convulsions produced by high fevers resulting from infection, carried off the greatest percentage (17 percent). Dysentery (11 percent), stroke (10 percent), whooping cough (10 percent), and disorders of the stomach (7 percent) followed. Together the five diseases accounted for 65 percent of child deaths below the age of ten.

Table J-2 shows the causes of death in the Sagrerin for individuals over age ten. Six diseases produced over 70 percent of the fatalities. Pneumonia, the largest killer, accounted for 20 percent of the total number of deaths. Hydropesia (dropsy), the immediate result of a stoppage of excretion produced by pregnancy, hormone difficulties, or kidney friction, caused 13 percent of the fatalities. Dysentery, continuous fever (probably typhoid or paratyphoid), and *contado*, a respiratory disorder preceded by a number of modern diseases, were the next most common fatal diseases. Continuous fevers attacked children and young adults. Pneumonia

accompanied the aged. Tuberculosis was prevalent among males. Women were the prey of dropsy. Deaths attributable to childbirth accounted for less than 1 percent of the total number of female deaths.

Specific occupations produced specific diseases. Lead and gold workers developed the universal tremors of mercury poisoning. Baking was a particularly unhealthy occupation. Excessive drinking of aguardiente and cold water by bakers produced disorders of the stomach. Flour in the air inflamed the eyes, and flour-dust inhalation led to consumption.[143] Persons in trades that required exposure to the elements or submergence in water were particularly vulnerable to cholera.[144]

The tolerant official attitude toward diseases shocks the modern mind. In 1839 the Junta de Sanidad decided that to declare a smallpox epidemic would disturb undue alarm because in the preceding month only thirty people in the Sagrario had succumbed to the disease.[145] Diseases like smallpox, another fever, measles, typhoid, and cholera were endemic and did not necessarily alarm the population. Table 17 shows the course of an outbreak of measles and diarrhea occurring in the adjoining parishes of the Sagrario and San Sebastián that left the southwestern barrio of San Pablo unscathed. At any time, however, the diseases could explode into truly monstrous epidemics. An outbreak of smallpox in 1840 carried off 2,878 children and scarred countless others.[146]

[illegible] The epidemic of 1833 [illegible] 1832 The last [illegible] however [illegible] because the official count did not include those who died in the hospitals and in several populous barrios.[147] Cholera's second visit to Mexico City in 1850 produced 6,488 recorded deaths but the actual total may have reached 9,000.[148]

Children, particularly infants were vulnerable to the epidemics Childhood diseases were always the most likely to reach serious proportions The toll of the 1840 small pox epidemic has already been noted Table 18 illustrates the ravages of scarlet fever among the children of the Sagrario in 1844 Cholera always produced its greatest fatalities among the infants.[149]

Diseases took its greatest toll from among the poor In 1824 Edward Thornton wrote that an outbreak of measles among the lower classes was the chief topic of upper-class conversation.[150] Dr Olivera wrote of two cholera epidemics that the "clase infelix" always suffered the most.[151] His statement is supported by the historian Nicere Zamacois and the dietist José Ramón Male, who also survived the two epidemics.[152] The incidence of cholera among the poor of Mexico City, however, was not nearly as shocking as it was among the urban proletariat of Europe The cities of nineteenth-century Europe were ghettoized by the early Industrial Revolution The incidence of the 1833 epidemic among the Parisian

[redacted] cholera's European [illegible] caused a political wide movement to reform municipal administration and sanitation [154] In closely packed Mexico City the disease took its toll of all who did not flee Guillermo Prieto wrote of the ravages of the disease among the middle classes [155] Male recorded that although the cholera attack of 1850 ran rampant among the poor, the disease also attacked the wealthy The most prominent victim of that epidemic was Manuel Payno, politician and essayist [156]

Tables K 1 and K 2 show the periodicity of pneumonia and dysentery Pneumonia was a disease of the winter and early spring Dysentery came with the summer rainy season but would also break out in the winter Diarrhea also followed this pattern The summer rains always carried measles and cholera The overall monthly death rate appearing in Table K 3 shows no marked seasonal pattern.

Infectious diseases that slaughtered the population were an indictment of the living conditions. As the epidemiologists and others suspected, smallpox, typhoid, and a host of other diseases were bred in the damp filth of stagnant waters and attacked an inadequately clothed and sheltered population Malnourishment increased the poor's vulnerability to disease Lack of milk, a condition often caused by malnourishment of nursing mothers, caused a permanent

[illegible] deaths in the Sagrario in [illegible] caused by malnourishment, especially during pregnancy. Epidemiologists and bacteriologists attribute the presence of typhoid and pneumonia continually and on a large scale in any population to chronic malnourishment. For example

> In the ghetto of Lodz during World War II, there existed an evident relation ship between hunger and infection. Weakness brought on a cold; a cold brought on pneumonia; then followed a funeral. A stretch led to infection and death.[158]

Disease deformed the poor. Mayor observed that deformities, blindness, and sores were capital.[159] Fairchett thought them the results of intemperance, smallpox, typhus, scarlet fever, and the putrid *enfermedades* of the streets. The bizarre inhabitants of the barrios were

> skeletal types, rademerous examples of disinterred corpses, anomalous and terrible [illegible], who left far behind the court of miracles illuminated with frightful light by the pen of Victor Hugo.[160]

Guillermo Prieto saw

> the open eats, the walking mummy. And deformed like humpbacks, restored to

[illegible] ly legged, and epileptic. The [illegible] were like domino pieces of six on [illegible]k hats skin above and cotton pants below; the women with a short woolen shawl floating over the breast and shoulder and wrapped about in a long sleeve. Pull at hook, and you make the wearer spin like a top.[161]

Demography

The materials available for the study of Mexico City's demography at the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México are sparse and inaccurate. The "Ramo de Padrones" contains the municipal censuses of 1842, 1849, and fragments of the industrial census of 1850.[162] Although the best material available for the study of household size, composition and fertility, they drastically underrecounted the population. Males fearing the census taker to be the herbinger of the tax collector or the press gang, were particularly underrepresented.[163]

The "Ramo de Demografía" contains transcripts of parish and hospital registers covering the years 1840, 1842, 1844, 1847, 1848, and 1850.[164] The transcripts appear to be complete and well analyzed, but they too are inaccurate. The parish registers underrepresent infant deaths because priests did not record the deaths of unbaptized infants.[165] Many adult deaths also do not appear on the registers.

After 1833 the [illegible] dually forbade burials in parish cemeteries wit[illegible]. [illegible] Enacted to preserve the public health [illegible] diverted the attorney of the parish registers [illegible] int poor, avoiding the expense and bother of burial in the municipal cemeteries, placed their dead in hempit cemeteries southwest of the city.[167] It is possible that smaller parish priests, financially dependent upon burial fees, conducted secret burials in their own cemeteries.

The age-sex characteristics of the population of Mexico City in 1848 reveal the play of natural and social forces. The procedure used to sample the census of 1848 does not allow the construction of an accurate population pyramid. It was possible, however, to construct population tables for the barrios of Merced[illegible] (Manzana 57) and San Salvador el Seco (Manzana 60). Bearing in mind that the populations of the barrios came and went as they pleased, their characteristics will be assumed to indicate city-wide patterns. Whenever possible, supplementary material will be added to support or disprove the observations.

The population was returned. Appendix I contains population tables on Merced[illegible] and San Salvador el Seco. They show that only 33 and 41 percent of the respective populations were below the age of twenty. The percentages approximate those of several other blocks listed on the census of 1842.[168] In the twentieth century, similar

[illegible] strategem of [illegible] year age brackets of both [illegible] probably calculated to mask the ravages of cholera upon the infant population of 1833. The shortages of children in the ten to nineteen-year brackets suggest that the tumultuous years following 1829 levied a high toll upon the capital's children. Immigration further reduced the percentages of adolescents in the barrios by flooding out the adult age brackets. The majority of migrants were young adults in their twenties and thirties as shown by Appendix L. Table 19 illustrates that over 50 percent of the members of some adult age brackets were migrants. The percentages of immigrants among the sample male population were smaller, but still substantial.

The tables of Appendix L show that the median age of both barrios was twenty-five. Modern Chile and Indianapolis possess similar median ages.[179] Only 10 percent of the populations were older than forty-five. Less than 5 percent of the sample of adult males were age forty-five or over. The low median age and the look of oldsters in the population suggest very short life expectancies among the survivors of infancy.

[illegible] dependency ratio measures the number of nonproductive per one hundred of the economically [illegible] ages two component ratios the [illegible] ratio and the aged dependency ratio Both are determined by dividing the number of those under the age [illegible] and those over the age of fifty nine by the number of individuals in the fifteen-to-fifty nine-year age bracket Table 20 lists the dependency ratios of the two [illegible] and nine *municipios* for which data exist They are surprisingly small For example, Nuevitilfe's ratio is lower than that of any modern nation Soe Salvador ml Seco's ratio equals that of modern Italy All bear a closer resemblance to the poorer moderalized nations of Europe, Latin America and North America than to the undeveloped nations of the world In the modern world extremely high dependency ratios signify that the producers of developing nations must devote a large portion of their labor to the feeding of unproductive mouths rather than to the production of an economic surplus [121] The relatively low dependency ratios of nineteenth century Mexico City suggest that prior to the advent of modern medicine and sanitation, nature kept a rough balance between producers and consumers

According to the census of 1842 55 percent of the population were females [122] In 1845 the percentages of females in Nuevitilán and Soe Salvador ml Seco were 56 and 57 The sex ratio, or number of males per hundred females, is

derived by dividing the number of males into the number of females. In a population with an equal number of females, the sex ratio is 100, with more males than females, it is over 100, with less males than females, it is less than 100. The ratios of the city and the two barrios were 83, 85 and 75 respectively.

In the modern age a sex ratio of below 90 indicates that a war or similar catastrophe has wasted the male population. For example, the 1940 sex ratios for the Soviet Union and East Germany were 80 and 82.[173] Mexico City's males had provided the manpower of many a revolutionary army and had recently waged a bloody and unsuccessful defense of the capitol against the North Americans. It is reasonable to assume that the low sex ratios existing in nineteenth century Mexico City were the results of war losses. Twenty-seven and 18 percent of the widows of the two barrios were below the age of thirty suggesting that their military-aged husbands had died in battle. The population tables, however, fail to support the war-loss hypothesis. The male deficit is almost totally explained by their absence from the fifteen-to-nineteen age brackets. One explanation for the missing adolescents was that they were performing apprenticeships in other parts of the city. Because of the errors inherent in constructing population tables of the barrios, the latter observation hardly invalidates the war-loss hypothesis.

[illegible] and 62 percent of the migrants in Mexico City and the Federal States were female. They were particularly numerous in the twenty to twenty-nine age brackets. Their numerical superiority may be explained by the hypothesis that more employment opportunities existed for single women and widows in Mexico City than in the surrounding District Federal and states. Two possible reasons exist for their youthfulness. The normal tendency was for young married wives to accompany their older husbands to the city. Also, seeking an apprenticeship to complete, single women left home at earlier ages than did males.

Marriages were of two types: legal ones sanctified by a formal church wedding and permanent liaisons having no legal standing. Appendix M illustrates the tendency, normal in Latin Catholic countries, for church weddings to be deferred until just before or just after Christmas and Easter. It is unlikely that many of the poor followed this pattern. An idea of the number of poor who chose to save the expense of a wedding by living in sin is provided by the percentages of illegitimate children baptized in parishes that maintained separate registers for legitimate and illegitimate births. Table 21 shows that the percentages of illegitimate births in these parishes averaged over 25 percent and in one instance rose to 33 percent. Nineteen parishes contained the separate registers contrary to law and public sentiment. Many more illegitimate births entered the registers as legitimate.

Most Mexicans married or established permanent unions during their [illegible] Seventy-eight percent of a random sample of adult males listed their civil status as married or widowed. The actual percentage was higher because the sample probably included an unduly large portion of wealthy young bachelors living at home and unmarried professionals. In Metepilán and San Salvador el Seco, the percentages of married or widowed males over twenty years of age were 81 percent and 91 percent respectively. Eighty-three and 91 percent of the females over the age of twenty were either married or widowed. Because of the numerical superiority of females over males in the adult age brackets, it is likely that women who did not marry during their youth stayed unmarried for their entire lives. A large number of single adult females in the two hacienda were over the age of thirty, while almost all single males over the age of twenty were in their early twenties.

In the Sagrario, Mexico City's largest parish, in 1842 the average marriage-age for males was thirty-two, that for females was twenty three.[174] A church marriage was an upper-class luxury, the poor mated at much younger ages. Parent information on age of marriage was absent, so the figures for the surveyed males and for both sexes of Maezano 57 were estimated by subtracting the age of the eldest child from that of the parents. The method errs toward overestimation because of child mortality and departure from the home of grown

[illegible] provide [illegible] marriage. The median age at marriage for sample males was twenty-seven. On Manzone 57 the mean age of marriage was twenty-eight for males and twenty-one for females. Table 22 which summarizes age at marriage with mean rent, shows the tendency for age of marriage to increase with economic status.

In modern nations possessing high infant mortality rates, the poor breed more children to compensate for future deaths. Nineteenth-century Mexican parents reasoned similarly. The fertility rate of Mexican women, calculated by dividing the number of children four years old and under by the number of females in the fifteen-to-forty-four-year age bracket and multiplying by 1,000, was extremely high. San Salvador el Seco's fertility rate was 457. Nuestra Señora possessed fewer married women and had a fertility rate of 267. The only method of birth control Mexican women practiced was breast feeding. Although modern birth control experts question the relationship of breast feeding to low fertility, it is reasonable to assume that women enjoying substantially more nutritional standards than do those of today would have been substantially less fertile during lactation.[175] In 1852 one woman was nursing two children aged fifteen and thirty-five months.[176] Assuming no other births separated the two children, the separation between them was a respectable twenty months. Unfortunately

this was the only reference to be found touching upon the documents Because of infant mortality and the departure of grown children, it was impossible to determine how many children were born onto the past Mexican family In Nacatitlán married women produced children every twelve to twenty-four months throughout their reproductive years

Although common in the colonial period, infant abandonment, a form of population control, occurred on a limited scale No tract ever discussed the abandonment of infants as a serious social problem, and the practice does not appear to have absorbed the attention of the authorities One document, however, does mention that the bodies of abandoned infants found in the parishes were sent to the paupers' cemetery at Santa Paula for burial [177] The maternity ward for unmarried mothers at the Hospicio de Pobres required its clients surrender their offspring to the orphanage The requirement may have stemmed from the fear that the infant would later be abandoned Manuel Orozco y Berra, writing early in the reign of Emperor Maximilian (1864-1867), reported that 'the inhuman requirement' had been abolished and that mothers using the facility almost always chose to keep their babies [178]

Despite the high birth rates... the Mexican family was small... Thirteen percent of the sample households consisted of only the sample male and his wife... Households containing the sample male, his wife, and children comprised

[redacted] 20 percent possessed four or more children [redacted] within the mean size of households containing children was 4.5. These figures agree with *Siglo Mas y Menos*'s that the average size of the poor Mexican family was four.[179]

The sample data indicate that large broods of children were the perogatives of the wealthy. Two percent of the households contained of the sample male, his parents and his siblings. These were coded Type 9. Households containing the sample male, his wife, and his children were coded Type 5. Table M-2 contrasts the size, economic, and occupational characteristics of the two types. The size of Type 5 households has been cited above. Compared to them, Type 9 households were extremely large. Over 40 percent possessed six or more children. Type 5 households paid a mean rent of $9. Type 9 households paid $25. Type 5 households were distributed proportionately among the occupational categories. Only 3 percent of the Type 9 families were in the unskilled category. Over 40 percent of them were in the upper group.

Large households including children and live-in relatives were also concentrated among the wealthy. Tables M-3 and M-4 contrast household size with residences and occupational characteristics. Residents of the Traza and members

...the upper occupational category possessed the largest households. Table 23, contrasting mean rent with household size, shows a multiplicative between large size and high mean rent.

Living in such wretched circumstances, the population failed to reproduce itself. The only courageous set of figures showing the natural rate of growth were those for the years 1839-1845 which the ayuntamiento published in 1846. They show a small but natural population increase of 750 a year.[180] These figures, however, must be taken with a grain of salt because they were extracted mainly from the parish records that always erred toward fecundity. They also disagree with contemporary opinion. At a meeting of the Junta de Sanidad, a member stated that deaths, particularly in the barrios, exceeded births.[181] The private citizen who advocated the repair of dilapidated housing expressed the same view.[182] Even if the ayuntamiento's estimate of natural population growth is correct, there existed the long-term net population deficit. The 18,000 recorded deaths of the cholera epidemics of 1833 and 1850 and the smallpox epidemic of 1840 centralized twenty five years of average annual population growth. These arguments leave little reason to doubt the assessment of the demographic historian T. H. Hollingsworth that preindustrial urban death rates are universally higher than birth rates and that constant immigration is necessary to maintain the population at a constant level.[183]

[illegible] migration into the city failed [illegible] growth. Kmith Davies, [illegible] estimates reproduced in [illegible] the first half of the [illegible] population of Mexico City grew by [illegible] per year.[184] Richard Morse's examination of Mexican urban population growth for the same period suggested a slightly lower rate of 2 percent a year.[185] The conclusions of both scholars support the hypothesis that during the early decades of national independence the national capital stagnated while outlying cities enjoyed modest growth or even flourished.

The conclusions of Davies and Morse may be optimistic. Indirect evidence suggests an even smaller growth rate. Eighteenth-century immigration into the capital caused homelessness and public disorders that moved the police to suggest the walling of the city.[186] Republican immigration, in contrast, caused little public comment. No session of the *ayuntamiento*, public or private, ever discussed internal immigration or the problems associated with excessive population growth. Immigration failed to replace the losses of the 1833 cholera epidemic. A decade after its dreadful visit, large areas of the city emptied by the disease remained depopulated.[187]

The men who made the estimates used by Davies and Morse admitted that their estimates were little better than

intelligent guesswork [illegible] let us [illegible] under the *ayuntamiento's* own population estimates based on their revisions of the municipal census. Since the census always underenumerated the population, it was the practice of the municipality to carefully review the returns and to revise the count upward. The census determined electoral representation, so the *ayuntamiento* had a vested interest in making the highest possible estimate. Table D-3 illustrates that the highest population estimate made in 1846 was 174 000. This surpassed by only 6,000 the estimate of 168 846 made in the year 1816 and used by the ayuntamiento to calculate electoral representation for 1824. During its 1844 review, the *ayuntamiento* concluded that the population of the city grew by one person every three days, an estimate that indicates a rate of growth far below that of Davies and Morse[1e9]. The conclusions of the ayuntamiento suggest that neither human reproduction nor immigration produced population growth in the capital's deadly environment.

Notes

[1] García Cubas (1945), p. 241
[2] Parry, p. 41
[3] García Cubas (1945), pp. 241, 242
[4] Prieto (1964), p. 204
[5] Calderón de la Barca, p. 125

García Cubas (194[illegible] p 141

[7] AACM, tomo 383, exps 1, 18, tomo 3888, exp 43

[8] AACM, tomo 381, exp 20

[9] Ward, tomo 1, p 42

[10] Wilson, p. 281

[11] AACM, tomo 522, exp 9 One *vara* is equal to approximately one English yard

[12] AACM tomo 522, exp 10

[13] *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 2 enero 1844 p 4

[14] AACM tomo 4164 exps 556, 570, tomo 4157 exp 4, tomo 4153, exps 110 106

[15] AACM, tomo 161, 'Actos de 2 noviembre 1841

[16] Primm (1954), p 86

[17] *Museo Mexicano*, tomo 3 p. 450.

[18] Meyer p 83

[19] Tylor, pp 245, 46

[20] Prieto (1954), p 190

[21] *Museo Mexicano* tomo 3 p 73

[22] Tylor, pp 55 56

[23] "Populeche," p 450 Prieto (1954), p 207.

[24] "Populeche," p 450

[25] Tylor p. 169

[26] Imaño Narvaez *Manuel de geografía y estadística de la república mejicana* (Paris, 1857) p 194

[27] Tylor, p 174

[28] Ward tomo 1, pp 16, 17 Thompson, p 35 Tylor p. 159 Meyer, pp 36 37

[29] Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810)* (México D F , 1969)

[30] Thornton, p 75

[31] Thompson, p. 35

[32] Prieto (1954), p 200

[33] García Cubas (1945) p 206

[34] Prieto (1948), p. 202

[35] Julio Guerrero, *La génesis del crimen en México estudio de psiquiatría social* (México, D F , 1901), p 146

[illegible]

Herrera

[35] AACM, tomo 1 4 [illegible] 4 cas de 15 noviembre 1832', tomo [illegible] exp 4

[36] *Semanario Artístico*, 30 noviembre 1844, p 1

[40] Ward, tomo 1, pp 16 17

[41] AACM tomo 3649 exp 41

[47] AACM tomo 2479, exp 389

[41] Poinsett, p 123

[44] Secretería de Estado y Despacho de Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores, *1830*, pp 27, 33, *idem*, *Memoria de 834* (México O F , 1835), p 35

[45] Zamacois tomo 12, pp 262 63 Bustamante p 46

[46] AACM, tomo 522 exp 7 Cue Canovas, p 374

[47] Thompson, pp 150 51

[48] AACM tomo 3453, exp 93

[49] Ocero *Obras* tomo 1

[50] Mayer pp 56-57

[51] AACM, tomo 3784, expo 10, 14; tomo 152 "Actas de n 10 octubre 1832; "Actas de 27 octubre 1832 ; tomo 3284 expu 14, 15

[52] Carrera Stampa, "Flores " p 287

[53] Thornton, p 64

[54] AACM, tomo 3668 exp 23, 35

[55] AACM, tomo 3668, expe 30, 56 *Liceo mexicano* 2 tomos (México, O F , 1844) tomo 1 p 385

[56] AACM, tomo 3686, expo 35 36

[57] Isidoro Olivera *El cólera* (México O F , 1831), p 51

[58] David A Longtry "The 1832 Epidemic of Asiatic Cholera in New Haven, Connecticut ' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* October 1970), p 464

[59] AACM tomo 3668, expe 20 35, 58 Carlos María Bustamante, *El nuevo Bernal mexicano* 2 tomos (México D F , 1842), tomo 1, p 32

[60] AACM. tomo 3689 exp 43

[61] Barrios de la Ciudad *Boletín Municipal*, 10 marzo 1905, p 1

[illegible]

[illegible] Prieto (1964), [illegible]

[illegible] AACM, tomo 3668, [illegible]

[illegible] Macedo, p. 25

[illegible] AACM tomo 3686, [illegible] tio de la [illegible] Confitero

[illegible] García Cubas (1945), p. [illegible]

[illegible] Latrobe, pp. 110-14[illegible]

[illegible] Thornton, p. 51

[illegible] Calderon de la Ba[illegible]a, pp. 105-109, 144-45

Siglo Diez y Nueve, 12 noviembre 1841, p. 1.

[illegible] Mayer, Appendix 5. Thompson, pp. 47-48

[illegible] Ibid

[illegible] Mexico City's vertical social stratification was the opposite of that prevailing in Paris of the same period where the poor lived upstairs and the rich occupied the lowest floors

[illegible] AACM, tomo 3413, "Manzana 136"

[illegible] Macedo, p. 63

[illegible] Prieto (1964), p. 157

[illegible] Mayer, p. 41

[illegible] Prieto (1964), pp. 202-203. Macedo, p. 78. Tylor, p. 66.

[illegible] Di Tella, p. 95

[illegible] Mayer, p. 41.

[illegible] Prieto (1948), pp. 202-203. Macedo, p. 78. Tylor, p. 66.

[illegible] Ruxton, p. 54

[illegible] AACM, tomo 4153, exp. 141.

[illegible] Macedo, p. 88.

[illegible] Ann F. Staples, "La cola del diablo en la vida conventual" (Tesis, Doctor en Historia, Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1970), p. 170.

[illegible] Mexico City, Archivo de Salubridad y Asistencia, "Libro de cuentas, casa de vecindad, Calle de las Mercedes año de 1818."

[illegible] AACM, tomo 392, exp. 53.

[illegible] Feinsett, p. 95

[illegible] AACM, tomo 3413, "Manzana 57," tomo 3409, "Manzana 168," tomo 3691, exp. 153.

[illegible] Ibid

[illegible] p 41

AACM, tomo 3409, 'Manzana 180

93 'Remitido," *Sol*, 13 mayo 1832, p [illegible]

94 AACM, tomo 3413 "Manzana 57

95 "Casas de vecindad," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 1 noviem- [illegible] 4

96 Calderón de la Barca, p. 145 "Remitido" *Sol*, p. 3

97 "Remitido," *Sol* 14 agosto 1844 p 3

98 Tyler, p 65

99 "Barrios de la Ciudad," *Boletín Municipal*, 7 Febrero [illegible] 1

100 AACM, tomo 3413 "Manzana 57 "

101 Thompson, p 51

102 AACM, tomo 2892, 'Contra Guadalupe Reyna, 10 octubre [illegible]

103 Rivera Cambas tomo 2, p. 241

104 Mayer, p 83

105 Thompson, p 51

106 Macedo p 50

107 AACM, tomo 3413, "Manzana 41

108 Ruxton, p 54

109 AACM, tomo 3413, "Manzana 168 '

110 Remitido, ' *Sol*, 13 mayo 1832. p 3

111 'Casas" 14 noviembre 1841. p 4

112 Ollvera, p 57

113 This was the equivalent of the Parisian "chelera [illegible] n which conditions were worse than bad ' The rooms-- [illegible] filthy ill ventilated--provided the persons who ex- [illegible] ts with as little as three square meters of space See R E McGrew "The First Cholera Epidemic in [illegible] Social History *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol 33 (1960) p 69

114 Remitido *Sol*, 13 mayo 1832, p 3

115 AACM, tomo 302 "Actas de 18 abril 1839 [illegible]

116 Larreba. p 111

117 AACM, tomo 3690 exp 47

[118] Prieto (1948) p 238

[119] Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Pan y toros*

[120] Macedo, p 78

[121] Prieto (1948) pp 202-203

[122] Thornton pp 50-51

[123] Thompson, pp 47-48

[124] AACM, tomo 3691, exp 307, tomo 3627, exp

[125] Prieto (1948) pp 202-204

[126] AACM tomo 3668 exp 27, tomo 3686, exp 35

[127] AACM, tomo 3686 exp 40 Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de 1845* p 8

[128] Muladares, "*Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 19 noviembre 1841

[129] Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de 1845* p 8

[130] "Barrios," 17 febrero 1903, p 1

[131] Prieto (1964), pp 202-203 "Cartas de la Ciudad," *Boletín Municipal*, 9 enero 1903, p 1

[132] "Muladares," p 2

[133] AACM, tomo 3686, exp 33

[134] AACM tomo 3668 exp 14

[135] "Remitido," *Sol* 14 agosto 1834, p 3

[136] Tyler p 65

[137] AACM, tomo 3611 exp 307, tomo 3686, exps 33 37 53, tomo 3668, exps 23, 32, 49 55

[138] Ruxton, p 20 R H Masson, *Pictures of Life in Mexico* 2 vols (London, 1852) vol 1 p 123

[139] Meyer, p 41

[140] AACM, tomos 723-38

[141] E Dubois, *Diccionario de medicina* (México, D F 1958)

[142] T H Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (New York 1969), "Introduction"

[143] "México," *Semanario Artístico*, 30 noviembre 1844 p 2

[144] Olivera p 57

[145] AACM, tomo 3686, exp 53

[illegible] Ayuntamiento J México [illegible]

[47] AACH, tomo 3675 exp 4

[48] AACH, tomo 733 Richard E Boyer Las crisedes [illegible] perspectivas de estudio en el siglo XIX *Historicana*, vol 21 (enero-marzo 1972) pp 481-525

[49] Olivera, p 56

[50] Thornton, p 81

[51] Olivera p 57

[52] Male, tomo I, p 75 Zamacois, tomo 13 pp 377-78

[53] McGrew pp 61-73

[54] Langtry, p 500

[55] Prieto (1964), pp 69-73

[56] Male, tomo 2, p 75

[57] AACH, tomos 723-24

[58] Leonard Tushnet, "Health Conditions in the Ghetto of Lodz" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* J nuary 1963 p 65 David T Smith *et al* *Bacteriology* (New York, 1957)

[59] Mayer, p 35

[60] Poinsett, p 23

[61] Prieto (1948) pp 458-59 202-203

[62] AACH, tomos 3406-31

[63] AACH, tomo 2020 exp 40

[64] AACH, tomos 723-33

[65] Hollingsworth

[66] AACH, tomo 3673, exps 15-42 These documents are requests to exempt the smaller parishes directly dependent upon burial fees for their finances from the prohibition against burials inside the city They cover a sixteen-year period (1833-1849)

[67] Prieto (1948), pp 202-203 Boletin de la Ciudad *Boletin Municipal* 17 febrero 1903 p 1

[68] The *manzanas* and the percentages of their popula tions under age fifteen are Manzana 97, forty percent; Manzana 128, thirty five percent, Manzana 129 twenty-four percent Manzana 90, thirty-six percent

[69] Warren S Thompson and David T Lewis, *Population Problems* 5th ed (New York, 1965), pp 86-87

[171] [illegible] p 90

[172] *Ibid* pp 92 94

[173] AACM tomo 3411

[174] Thompson and Lewis p 75

[175] AACM tomos 723-24

[176] Ronald Freedman, 'Family Size in Underdeveloped Areas," in Charles B Nam, ed, *Population and Society* (Boston, 1968)

[177] AACM, tomo 2760, 'Sobre María Trinidad Laure, 1852 '

[178] AACM, tomo 3673, exp 42

[179] Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Estado actual de los establecimientos de beneficencia* (México, D F , 1864) p 18

[180] "Editorial ' 12 noviembre 1841, p 3

[181] Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de 1845*, p 204-See also Tabla P-2

[182] AACM, tomo 3686 exp 35

[183] "Remitido," *Sol* 13 mayo 1832 p 3

[184] Hollingsworth p 40

[185] Keith Davies "Tendencias demográficas urbanas durante el siglo XIX en México," *Historia Mexicana*, octubre-diciembre 1972, pp 142-60

[186] John Wibal and Jesse de la Cruz, 'México," in Richard M Morse ed *The Urban Development of Latin America, 1750 1920* (Stanford, California 1971)

[187] Ex Tabla, pp 107-11

[188] Prinzo (1948), p 53

[189] "Población" pp 48-50

[190] AACM, tomo 373, exp 2 tomo 863

CHAPTER FOUR

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND FAMILY

We have seen monuments erected but not the establishment of hospitals and other charitable institutions; millions consumed to fund public and even private gatherings in great luxury, but not one cent consecrated to the sake of humanity

--*Liceo Mexicano*, 1844

Public Institutions

The national government was an insatiable predator of men and money and men. A variety of excise taxes on [illegible] many necessities like maize, beans, eggs, meat, and pulque weighed heavily upon the poor. In 1841 Thompson, referring to the excise taxes, reported that the government of General Santa Anna was engaged in a campaign to see how much taxation the people can bear."[1] The government also levied a series of direct taxes upon income. The personal contributions of 1842 affected all males capable of work and was a minimum of one real a month. It was followed [illegible] next year by a general head tax of one real a month.[2]

[illegible] full pages of *Leg [illegible]ñe mexicana* ex- [illegible]s outrage w[illegible] [illegible]ey denounce the impact of the direct taxes upon the poor. The pelree collected the "direct contributions" of 1825 bretally. They demanded more than the poor possessed and would literally take the bread from their mouths. Although the 'personal contributions" of 1842 exempted persons under $300 a year, tax collectors ignored the exemptions. A government circular stated

> Matters have arrived to the Supreme Government that some tax collectors drag debtors in the streets and strip them at enter the shacks of the miserable and rip the rags off their backs, which shows all is disjust and causes serious disgust. The Government orders that under no circumstances will the unhappy class" or the truly miserable be extorted or seized.[3]

[illegible] circular admitted that the rates charged the poor were [illegible]ermined arbitrarily and bore no relation to individual ability to pay.

The government's demand for soldiers was insatiable. Poor men faced impressment, the traditional method of recruitment, as a vestige of colonial obsolescence. Riots occurred in 1826, 1828, and 1832 when press gangs roamed the barrios.[4] The function of the Tribunal de Vagos, established in 1828, was to extract vagrants from the popula tion for military service while sparing the useful and

[illegible] the Tribunal legally limited [illegible] could be lasted longer because judges permitted the defendant additional time to gather witnesses. The lengthy hearings, the result of an earnest desire to provide justice, failed to provide the government with a steady or large stream of soldiers. When military exigencies were acute the government harassed the Tribunal into declaring as vagrant everybody seized by the police or army.[6] During August 1841, for example, it sentenced five hundred men to military service in trials lasting less than twenty-four hours. The sole criterion of guilt or innocence was whether or not the accused had been arrested in a *polquería*. Critics of these proceedings claimed that their burden fell principally upon the honest, hard-working poor and that their progress allowed ample scope for revenging neighborhood feuds.[7]

In 1829 and 1851 the government selected soldiers by compulsory sorteo (lottery). A critic of the 1829 sorteo argued that only the poor were asserted of conscription and that the system divided the classes with the speed of lightning."[8] The sorteo conducted by General Santa Anna in 1851 designed to raise an army of ninety thousand de generated into impressment. Workshops and factories became idle as their occupants were dragged off to the barracks.[9]

The sight of kidnapped *léperos* with pants just hitting around their hips and stomachs protruding from short uniform coats, stumbling through the manual of arms amused

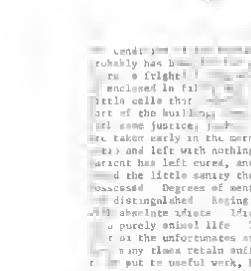
Thompson.[10] The poor however hardly regarded military service as a joke. Soldiers chained and marched the conscriptees to the barracks where they awaited assignment to regiments.[11] In 1848 men taken by a press gang remained locked for days without food in the convent of Belén until a friar, hearing of their plight purchased bread for them out of his own pocket.[12] Once processed into the army, they experienced brutal treatment. Sergeants beat recalcitrants with clubs until their "heartbreaking shouts degenerated into animal moaning" or tied them to a rock and flogged them until they required hospitalization.[13] It is little wonder that most deserted before their term of service had expired.[14]

The impressment of a head of family was an economic catastrophe for his dependents, for military pay was insufficient to feed even himself, and rations were scanty and irregularly issued.[15] The necessity of keeping a family together during military service was one of the principal reasons why the Junta de Fomento de Artesanos promoted the establishment of savings accounts.[16] Since savings accounts did not exist, families of conscripteen faced destitution. Wailing wives and children surrounded the barracks which housed their husbands and fathers.[17] In 1841 the wives and children of soldiers impressed in the provinces and stationed in Mexico City died of exposure in their makeshift camps near the convents of San Agustín, San Francisco, Santo Domingo, and La Merced.[18]

[illegible] Carnegal government and the municipality failed to compensate the poor for their sacrifice of money and man power. Public institutions provided minimal relief. Mexico City's hospitals were in disgraceful condition. During the colonial period the religious orders had administered them. Following independence, the hospitals, most of which were in bankrupt condition, became the responsibility of the ayuntamiento.[19] Table 24 lists the hospitals that existed in 1849. The mitre (archbishopric), under contract to the city, staffed and administered the 500-bed general hospital of San Andrés. San Pablo was a 70-bed general hospital founded during the war with the United States. The hospitals of San Hipólito and the Divine Savior were lunatic asylums for men and women. San Lazaro was a leprosarium. The hospitals of Saint John and Jesus were small, private hospitals that took charity cases. Although after 1843 the Sisters of Charity administered the municipal hospitals, the only hospital funded and operated by a religious order was that of the Franciscan Tertiaries.

Conditions in the hospitals were extremely poor. A visitor to the hospital of San Lázaro complained that the isolated lepers, afflicted with a disease that intensified their sexual drives, resorted to "horrible and repugnant practices against nature."[20] A year later the Junta de Sanidad reported that since leprosy was not a contagious disease, San Lázaro should be closed down if the lepers

[illegible] idized. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]



The hospital of San Andrés was never in any condition to provide proper medical care. It lost most of its funds when the legal settlement of corporately owned property that immediately followed postindependence ended its revenue-producing properties to the *ayuntamiento*. At the same time, the municipality closed down four of the most decrepit public hospitals, leaving San Andrés the only general hospital tasked with the care of charity cases. Squeezed by increasing responsibilities and decreasing revenues, San Andrés was a public disgrace. In 1828 the hospital's rector complained that the department of surgery, as the ground floor

[illegible] Its darkn[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] n eggs [illegible] [illegible] frmtleg mf thm pacients Thm de partment of medicine wi [illegible] redlecriminately mramed with patients selfering from contegious eed cnecontegious diseeses The patiecets locked proper bedding and conrishing feed [25]

Thm passage mf yeors cheeged nothing ot San Andrés. In 1848 the *Eco de Comercio* reported thot the hospitel wae crwaded eed filthy Owm small poorly ventilated room eec tiecd eighty patiects whe lay on thm floor ie rows nea-half yird ipart. The bedding was ucwashed and iooked with the sweot of 200 patiects A layer mf grime one half iech thick coated the wooden partitions dividing the warde The eight of cadavers being delivered from the warde to the morgee leeoled ie the ventral patio demoralized the patients [26]

Hospitalization was free to thm comdy, however, they were relectoet to use the ovailable fmailities Table 25 mlows the admissice ond exit of free ead impriseeed pe rients for portiece of 1828 ead 1846 Owm half of the patiemts dering theee periods were prisoners Twenty-mevme eed 28 percent mf all free patients who entered the hmspitel died while only 10 eed 12 percent of the impriseeed patiects did se The emallem number mf free patiects eed their highmr percectagee of deathe indicetm their reluctemce to place themselves in the hmspitel until they were oe the verge of death [27]

[illegible] republican *ayuntamiento* continued the colonial [illegible] providing the poor with free medical care. [illegible] rules ordering licensed doctors to provide the [illegible] free medical care were reenacted in 1822.[28] The [illegible] were notoriously loath to treat anyone [illegible] patients.[29] Had they been more willingly about meeting the needs of the poor, their small numbers--123 or 1:1,040--and their residence within the Traza limited their accessibility to the poor.[30]

The poor hesitated to visit licensed doctors. Instead they attempted to cure themselves with poisonous patent medicines or sought the aid of *curanderos* (unlicensed doctors) who cheated in the city.[31] The authorities considered the *curanderos* a menace to public health and counted them as criminal vagrants.[32]

Boticas (drug stores) traditionally gave free medicine to the poor in the evenings. The poor availed themselves of the drugs, but their effectiveness is doubtful. The boticas were fetid and filthy. The druggist himself, who to a licensed doctor was a pretentious antichrist was to a lawyer. His usual remedies were a yellow ointment for pimples, cumfolit water for toothaches, powdered horn, tripe of Judas or gum of squillon for childbirth, and stag horn or powdered tortoise for genital ailments. During the cholera epidemic of 1833, a druggist sold pieces of porch matt that purportedly would protect the wearer from the

disease. Hundreds purchased the panahmaut and subsequently perished. The *ayuntamiento* showed its low evaluation of customary medicines when it wisely decided that nourishing food was the best medicine to distribute to the poor during the measles epidemic of 1825.[33]

Municipality efforts at preventive medicine failed. It was unable to enforce even rudimentary standards of municipal sanitation. A mass antismallpox vaccination drive held in 1826 also failed. The poor would not present their children for vaccination. The few who were vaccinated deliberately picked off their scabs before immunization could occur or lacked sufficient clothing to protect the development of the scab.[34]

Epidemics overwhelmed the city's meager medical facilities. In 1825, to combat a mysterious fever, the *ayuntamiento* published and distributed a pamphlet advising the poor to take to bed at the first hint of a fever, eat nourishing food, and drink lots of fresh fruit juices. The advice, which would probably meet the approval of modern dietetics, never reached its audience who could not read or afford to rest from its daily labors. Efforts to turn an outbreak of measles that same year failed because the fathers of poor children would not send them to the hospital.[35]

The cholera epidemic of 1833 illustrates the *ayuntamiento*'s tragic inability to provide emergency medical care to the poor. The municipal authorities ominously followed

[illegible] Forego [illegible]

[illegible] Sto [illegible] Bern Mart [illegible] d

[illegible] could not enforce [illegible] ril cleanup [36] In June, as the disease spread into central Mexico, ordinances decreed the establishment of two emergency hospitals whose services would be available free to the poor, councils of health in every two *cuarteles menores*. The municipality appealed to convents, monasteries, *cofradías*, the *mitra* and wealthy private citizens for contributions to fund the struggle against the disease. It also asked the religious institutions to establish their own emergency hospitals.[37]

Nothing came of the *ayuntamiento*'s efforts. On August 7, the day cholera appeared in the city, new ordinances repeated those of June and pledged the authorities to the care and feeding of the poor. Contributions to finance the measures did not appear. Although the *mitra* and some of the parishes established hospitals, all the convents save La Merced refused to exhaust their resources or endanger the health of their members by the establishment of hospitals.[38]

One week after cholera appeared in the streets and hovels of the city, as many people were dying that it was impossible for the parish clergy to administer the last rites. Unable to control the disease, the *ayuntamiento* requested the *mitra* to dispatch sufficient numbers of the religious and emperish clergy to the barrios to confess the

dying. Three weeks la[illegible]
mainly 6 000 inhabitan[illegible]
fever-ridden capital[illegible]

> ailment descr[illegible] with the sound of
> hurried footst[illegible] instance of some
> one running for [illegible] The yellow, black
> and white flags that showed the presence
> of the disease the doctors, the priests,
> the houses of charity, the pharmacies
> crowded with people, the churches with
> their doors wide open and their altars
> covered with 1 000 lights, people kneeling
> down with their arms forming a cross and
> weeping and for off in the distance,
> the dismal high pitched squeal of wagon
> wheels as they bore away the load of
> corpses.[40]

Few details concerning the Hospicio de Pobres (municipal almshouse) survive from the period. A detailed report written in 1864 by Manuel Orozmo y Berra supplements existing information. The *hospicio*'s official capacity was 500 inmates. In 1864 however the institution held only 197: 75 boys, 73 girls, 13 old men, and 35 old women.[41] During the period of this study, the number of inmates that it sustained evidently strained its resources. In 1831 the recent evicted eight inmates for alleged misbehavior. All eventually found their way to the dockets of the Tribunal de Vagos whose magistrates declared them physically and mentally unfit for military service and remanded them to the *hospicio*. The rectors recognized his former charges: adulterers

[illegible] overcrowding had [illegible] to make a hasty and unwise decision [42] Hampered by lack of funds, the *hospicio* temporarily ceased operations in 1826 and 1841 [43]

Physically the *hospicio* was a shambles Guillermo Prieto described the building as it existed in 1841

> Patios full of weeds growing in the banks of the drainpipes, loose and dangling gratings, broken bricks in the corridors, pieces of crumbling roof tiles In the dining room, hunger in the kitchen, smoke, grime, and hence replacing meat In the department of beggars filth cold, and living skeletons [44]

The Junta de Sanidad reported in 1849 generally filthy conditions that included poor ventilation, insufficient baths, pools of stagnant water in the wards, and clogged toilets [45]

In the 1830s the inmates of the *hospicio* occupied themselves by weaving and tailoring [46] A loan from the Banco de Avio enabled the establishment of a paper factory on the premises [47] In the 1840s girls worked as lace makers Contractors hired the boys as spinners in textile mills Prieto thought the latter employment to be sweated labor [48] Adults worked and received wages from a canvas factory established on the premises by a private entrepreneur [49] The *hospicio*'s inmates also worked as pallbearers at the funerals of the wealthy [50]

The 1854 repo[illegible]
[illegible]cio's daily rout[illegible]
[illegible]e workshops acc[illegible]
[illegible]tablishment as mistreated [illegible]ys that they
[illegible]ired to work as pallbearers In view of their abuses
Orozco y Berra questioned the usefulness of the workshops
continued existence The pallbearers received $1, keeping
one real and surrendering the remaining seven to the *hos-*
picio When the boys were not working, they performed all
the chores of the establishment Girls worked at a sewing
and embroidery shop and were well instructed and well paid
The aged had no duties but the cleaning of their quarters
Hospicio regulations to the contrary, they passed the day
begging in the streets [51]

The Casa de Cuña (orphanage), supervised by a junta
of the wealthiest families in Mexico, was the most effectively
administered charity. The junta's male members contributed
money while their wives took personal responsibility for
each foundling entrusted to the orphanage The *cuña* placed
newborn or infant foundlings in the care of Indian wet nurses
living in the villages surrounding the capital The wet
nurses, whose health and character were periodically certified,
received for their services the respectable sum of $4 a month.
This sensible practice also prevalent in Europe, removed
the infants from the city's deadly environment [52] Every
fifteen days the wealthy benefactresses personally inspected

[illegible] village of T[illegible] T[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] eventually adopted them foundlings [53]

[illegible] where de la Barca reported the orphanage to be [illegible] and spacious [54] The 1849 report of the Junta de Sanidad criticized the institution for its filth and overcrowding [55] The orphanage's condition that year may have been due to the aftermath of the war with the United States Manuel Orozco y Berra expressed his 'great pleasure and astonishment" at the good order, cleanliness and efficient supervision of the orphanage that contrasted sharply with the hospital's other charitable institutions Wet nurses were kept on hand for the emergency nursing of malnourished foundlings Grown children were not turned out on the streets but remained in the establishment until adulthood The orphanage contained a small primary school for them in struction of both sexes Adolescent boys received instruction in shoemaking, goldsmithing drawing, and painting while girls learned needle and embroidery Family spirit and economy was augmented by having the girls sew clothes for the boys and the boys make shoes and trinkets for the girls [56]

The municipal prison on the ground floor of the *ayuntamiento*'s building housed petty thieves street-walkers and drunkards [57] The Junta de Sanidad reported it to be overcrowded and filthy Barrels containing the prisoners excrement stood in the walls and a thick paste of grime

[illegible] housed prisoners serving sentences of [illegible] then one month and those awaiting trial for the most serious crimes. Over 1,000 men and women languished within its grey walls.[60] The exterior of the prison presented a grisly sight. At the main entrance stood a large iron gate displaying the bodies of those found murdered in the streets; the display was for the purpose of identification.[61] Private and relatively clean cells housed the wealthy, but large common cells whose conditions disgraced nineteenth-century standards of penal amelioration housed the poorer prisoners.[62] The Junta de Sanidad reported in 1842 that the cells were overcrowded and filthy. Two of them were in a 'fatal state' because their pavement had become loose and their floors were wet. Their inmates, lacking pallets, slept directly on the damp and filthy floors. The stench from current human toilets pervaded the prison. The report pushed by strongly urging the authorities to remedy the physical defects and "above all to provide more sleeping space because an epidemic would transform the jails (national and municipal) into 'inexhaustible focuses of infection and death'".[63]

There was no effort to separate first offenders, hardened criminals, murderers, or those who were merely awaiting trial. All mixed together in the cells or in the

large control correctional court and [64] The government, in a fit of prudery, ended the cherished practice of conjugal visitation. It was not long before indignant prisoners complained that sodomy and other unnatural practices flourished. Mistreatment of the prisoners occasionally took place. In 1841 a prison official conducted an investigation the prisoners [65] The general impression is, however, that the authorities left the prisoners to themselves. Inmates formed societies within which the strong terrorized the weak robbing them of possessions and imposing their own system of justice [66] The prison authorities did little to interfere with the internal society of the prison. At times prisoner's wives openly made merchandise trips, and gambling establishments and cantinas existed within the prison [67] Not surprisingly the prisoners were openly contemptuous of their keepers. A riot and charges of maltreatment were the rewards of one zealous warden who attempted to arrest and punish the ringleader of a vicious extortion racket flourishing inside the prison. [68]

Little constructive activity occurred within the prison. Some inmates supported themselves by selling the handicrafts they produced from any materials that they could scavenge [69] Every day up to 150 chained filthy prisoners joined to each other by their chests and feet earned one real a day by laboring at various public projects [70] The most degrading of these was the cleaning of the drains and

aqueducts during which the prisoners [illegible] in the
wolets in the putrid slime, removing [illegible]
their own hands [71] Despite the forced [illegible]
were poorly communized The Junta de Sanidad [illegible] that
lack of exercise seriously weakened inmates of bagnio jails [72]

In 1841, prompted by scandal and reports of British
reformers the government established a school and workshops
in which the prisoners could learn useful trades while
earning half-pay that could be applied to supplementary
food and clothing. The workshops, reported *Siglo Diez y
Nueve*, were well lit, supervised, and equipped [73] The Amer-
dado's tailor shop advertised its wares until 1844, but it
is doubtful that the school and shops survived the war with
the United States

Chronic debt was the lot of the poor, and credit
their necessity Lacking money, the poor commonly resorted
to simple barter Stores and pulperías accepted pawns in
direct payment for groceries and pulque [74] This practice,
which encouraged petty theft, was illegal in Mexico City as
it was in nineteenth-century London. [75] The tobacco factory
in 1851, operated a store (Tiendo de Raya) where the operatives could buy clothes on credit [76] The store could only have been a service to the Entonces's salaried employees

Credit was scarce An artisan in need of money would pawn his wares or the merchant for whom he worked for an advance in wages or an outright loan [77] The typical

HOSPITALS

Hospital	Function	Capacity
San Andrés (1821)	Municipal g[illegible]	500
San Pablo, Fd 1847	Municipal gen[illegible]	60
Jesus	Private gen[illegible]	50
Terceros	Private general	
San Hipólito	Male insane asylum	
Divino Salvar	Female insane asylum	90
San Lázaro	Leprosarium	
San Juan de Dios Fd 1845	Private general	

SOURCE Gilberto F Aguilar and Roberto Esquivel Farfan *Los hospitales de México* (México D F 1936)

TABLE 25
HOSPITAL OF SAN ANDRÉS,
ADMISSION AND DISCHARGE OF PATIENTS, 1828 1846

	Previously Admitted	Entered	Exited	Died	Remainder
Jan 1 to April 30, 1828:					
Free patients	94	390	285	107	97
Prisoners	127	440	411	46	110
[illegible] y 1 to May 19, 1828					
Free patients	97	71	71	20	77
Prisoners	110	81	86	8	97
Jan 1 to Aug 30, 1846:					
Free patients	57	43	34	21	45
Prisoners	74	94	86	11	70

SOURCE AACH roms 2297, expe 7, 14

TABLE 26
PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1845

Convento	
San Ir...	
La Merc...	
San Agust...	
Santa Dom...	
San Die...	
Total	4...
Lancasterian (males)	
Filantrapía	
San Felipe de Jesus	1...
La Beneficencia	
Nocturna de Adultos	
Casa de Correccion	
Carcel-Presos	
Total	103
Lancasterian (females):	
Santa María la Redonda	120
Santa Rosa de Lima	110
La Caridad	139
La Providencia	140
San Diego	60
Salto de Agua	72
Callejón de Lacuona	53
Carcel-Presos	41
Total	735
Private (males):	
...	1 546
Private (females):	
40	893
TOTAL	5,847

SOURCE: Dorothy T... Estrada, "Las escuelas lancasterianas en la Ciudad de México, 1822-1842," *Historia Mexicana*, vol ... no. 4... p... 487...

TABLE
[illegible] DE SOCIETY [illegible]

Year of Foundation	[illegible]ion	[illegible]nrollment
1846	Callejon de Hi[illegible]	[illegible]00
1847	[illegible]luca de Max[illegible]alco	100
1847	Plaza de Necrotlfi	100
1848	Plazuela de San Sebastián	180
1848	Fuente de Santa Maria	250
1848	Calle de Cuadranta de Santa A[illegible]a	125
1849	Calle de Zapo	250
1849	Calle de San Antonio Abad	150
1849	Calle de San Hipólito	110
1850	Candelaria de los Patos	120
1851	Candelaria de los Patos	120

SOURCE AACM, tomo 2479, exp. 389.

TABLE 28
ESCUELA DE LAS AMIGAS, BARRIO DE SANTA CRUZ ACATLÁN,
MONTHLY ATTENDANCE 1831

Month	Boys	Girls
Jan	43	9
Feb	42	16
Mar	45	15
Apr	32	7
May	35	14
June	28	16
July	47	21
Aug	64	21
Sept	73	29
Oct	72	34
Nov	79	43
Dec	86	51

SOURCE AACM, tomo 2478 exp 298

TABLE 29
[illegible] ETTLES CENSUS OF 1849

[illegible]	[illegible]
Nuclear [illegible]	
Self/w [illegible]	19
Self/w [illegible]	35
Self/sib [illegible]	3
Self/m [illegible] r	2
S lf/m [illegible] r/fat[illegible]	2
Self/=blings	3
Self/mother/=ibling=	2
Total	66
Extended or household=	44
Total cases 1 052	

SOURCE: AACH, zone 3406

[illegible] unlikely [illegible] rusted [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]d between 1824 and 1854, the shop received and redeemed an average of 42,000 pawns yearly.[82] Other pawnshops that kept pawns for six months but retained all profits from the sale existed within the city. These may have been frauds for neurers. At least two of the pawnshops changed their agreements by enlisting the pledges before the six-month period had expired.[83] They did not attract the volume of business that the charity-minded Montes Pío did.

Mexicans of all classes and political persuasions viewed education as the panacea for the problems of the lower classes. The *ayuntamiento* thought that public education would raise the moral and physical level of the poor by ending vice and wakedness. The priest of Santo Tomás de la Palma desired a school in his parish to promote good order, tranquility and the security of lives and property.[84] The *Museo Mexicano*'s critic of the *pulquería* hoped that education would one day end the vices of that poor criminal class.[85] The *Seminario Artístico* praised education for "making one acquire the habits of work, driving from man laziness and vice and making him know that truth is inseparable from virtue."[86]

Social harmony and the personal acceptance of the existing order was the aim of the educators. The *Seminario Artístico* warned against using education to advance above one's station in life

[illegible] favorable p[illegible] leave t[illegible] imprudent top[illegible]ing th[illegible] ures, carrying t[illegible]g or placing t[illegible] de of the sphere to which they fi[illegible] lves is fully dangerous, and ex[illegible] e confirms it; dangerous for the [illegible] bitter for the heart of he who [illegible] vated himself, ancience almost al[illegible] r the world for whom it is said [illegible] is not worth so much having a [illegible] mul as it is to have the general [illegible] d the domestic welfare of families

[illegible]n taught above all the virtue of resignation [illegible] and private property

> It is the school of resignation It teaches us our duties to others It corrects and punishes our vanity and reminds us that the human life is only a time of trial and preparation
>
> Work is also the origin of property, and the lovers of work are those who understand better the respect due to property [88]

Public education was the constitutional responsibility of the *ayuntamiento* who established its own schools and promoted the establishment of private schools In 1822 seventy-one primary schools taught 3,800 students Table 26 shows that by 1845 one hundred three schools enrolled 5,847 students The most numerous private schools were the Schools of the Friends and those of the famous Lancastrian Company [89] The five municipal schools enrolled paying as well as free students Almost all the private schools enrolled poor

children free upon authorization and payment of the municipality In 1831, for example, the School of the Friends in Cuartel Manuel 11 enrolled 437 students of whom 102 were "free students."[89]

After 1846 an organization known as the Society of Charity established the twelve schools presented in Table 7 expressly for the education of the poor In 1851 these schools enrolled 1,865 students Three years later their numbers had expanded to twenty-eight and their enrollment had increased to 6,360 Unlike the municipal schools and private schools which preceded them public contribution rather than municipal funds or private fees supported the schools of the Society of Charity The parents of the students paid the quite modest fee of one eighth of a real per week.[91]

Thanks to the requirements of the *ayuntamiento*, the curriculum taught at the schools was reasonably standard and included reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine according to the catechisms of Rigaldi and Fleury The municipal free schools, however added to their curriculum sewing and embroidery for girls and industrial drafting for boys The addition of these subjects shows how earnestly the *ayuntamiento* desired to prepare poor children for productive work later in their adolescence.[92]

At the Schools of the Friends children were taught by the conventional classroom method Lancastrian methodology

[illegible] through constant activity designed [illegible] the children. Classes were held [illegible] from 100 to 300 students. Tasks [illegible] room monitors stood at the head of [illegible] tables with benches holding ten students each. [illegible] classroom. In the middle of the first table stood a telegraph, a long pole topped by a metal frame which held a poster of the letters or number to be learned during every class session.[93]

The children entered the classroom and stood at attention while the teacher inspected them for cleanliness. Afterward they watched to their assigned tables, knelt in unison and said their morning prayer. The beginning students sat at the first file of tables and practiced printing letters in the sand held in the depressed table tops. Intermediate students drew letters on blackboards. The most advanced practiced printing and script with pen and paper. A *decurión* (student inspector) sat with each group of ten and monitored each student's work. In the afternoon each group sat in a semicircle around its *decurión* and repeated aloud and in unison the catechism and lessons in preparation for class. Later the students returned to their benches for arithmetic lessons taught in the same fashion as the morning's writing. Throughout the day the teacher functioned solely to insure the clock-like precisioned operation of the gigantic class.[94] Rapid advancement, primos, and promotions

[illegible] shoulders, wearing [illegible] of personal faults, [illegible] incarceration in a stock jail. The punishments were not arbitrary, but precisely inscribed in the rules and regulations of the Lancastrian Company.[95]

The great advantage of the Lancastrian method was that one instructor could educate 200 to 1,000 students if enrollments were large. The School of Philanthropy, the oldest and largest, enrolled 300 students. Another advantage was that a student could learn at his own pace. The length of time in which a student could complete all phases of study varied from eleven to eighteen months. The concept of Lancastrian education became so popular that the municipal schools and, judging from their size, those of the Society of Charity adopted it for their methodology. Municipal and national governments and the periodicals spoted no efforts to popularize education at the Lancastrian schools. Poor children received prizes of clothes or money. Final examinations and graduations were public, and the best graduates received public awards.[96] At one such ceremony held in 1843, General Santa Anna presided over the graduation of more than 400 students and distributed gifts of money.[97]

The reversion of the post to education was immense. In some schools parents removed their children as soon as

[illegible] e, but being [illegible] nts of Chr[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Some instructor allowed only one out of six free [illegible] to be enrolled in the school. The instructor of another school did not allow any free student to enroll. A [illegible] named Inspector discovered the violation when he noticed that although the school was located in a poor barrio, all ten students were chosen.[102]

A census taken in 1842 counted sixty licensed and forty three unlicensed teachers in the city.[103] A report read to the Ayuntamiento in 1832 called many of the unlicensed teachers "ignorant men whose morality was not very refined." The report's author concluded that to entrust children to the care of these men was a misfortune but the greater misfortune would be to close the schools for lack of qualified teachers and to deprive the poor of any instruction.[104]

The greatest obstacle to public education was the poverty of the administrative system itself. The Lancasterian and municipal schools labored under severe financial strain. Public subsidies were always in arrears, and private students failed to pay their fees. The financial difficulties affected the quality of instruction. In November 1840 the municipality owed the directors of the municipal free schools $2,500 in back salaries. Although they were bodily present in the classroom with their students, their spirits were home with their families wondering where the next meal would come from. Some of the free schools lacked textbooks

[illegible] branches of instruction [illegible] texts of others were so badly deteriorated as to be useless. Once of the schools had the materials to teach sewing, and the few girls who learned sewing were the fortunate whose parents could provide them with materials. For lack of the proper textbooks it was impossible to teach Spanish grammar or industrial drafting.[165]

Education managed to keep down to the poor. Table N-1 shows the occupations of the parents of students attending the municipal school located on the Street of the Seven Princes.[166] Twenty-four percent of the occupations were female, indicating that the fathers of the students were dead and that they were being supported solely by their mothers. The remaining male occupations indicated that the parents were poor. Thompson observed that servants and laborers had some knowledge of reading and writing and attributed it to the Lancastrian system of education.[167] Twenty-five percent of the six hundred men arrested for vagrancy between 1828 and 1851 could sign their names to the copies of their testimony.[168]

Fanny Calderón de la Barca thought there existed 'no country in the world where charities, both public and private, are practiced on so noble a scale.'[169] Waddy Thompson, who was in Mexico at the same time as señora de la Barca, gave an entirely different opinion of Mexican charity

[redacted] of those [redacted] tions [redacted] accustomed [redacted] our principal [redacted] There are many [redacted] these. I have [redacted] in mind of [redacted] le cities of [redacted] Philadelphi[redacted] thus to Mexico [redacted]

Thompson's judgment is more suited to the facts. Philadelphia, a city of 96,664 in 1810, possessed a large hospital and a dispensary whose staff visited the sick in their homes. Its almshouse housed over 1,200 inmates while the city dispensed poor relief to 2,500 more.[111] Conditions within all the public facilities surpassed the necessity's standards, and Philadelphia's system of public charity became a model for other cities to imitate.[112] Sixteen private organizations as diverse as the Magdalen Society to Reform Prostitutes and the Female Society to Employ the Poor supplemented public charity.[113] In contrast to those of Philadelphia, the bare prison and almshouse of Mexico City were remarkable and overcrowded. Conditions within the prisons were comparable to most North American ones but twenty years behind those of France and England. At precisely the time when the public schools of North America were about to enter a great period of reform and expansion, those of Mexico City, although of noble inspiration, withered for lack of funds. During the entire period only two permanent private charitable associations existed.

In 1844 the *Liceo mexicano* criticized the indifference of wealthy Mexicans to public and private charity:

We live in a century of magnificence — of luxury We preserve the adornment — the cities and their splendors: mum[illegible] palaces, astonishing theaters, great [illegible] ues, elevated triumphal arches columns pyramids Yet we watch the poor man ground into the dirt, the sick suffering without aid the abandoned illegitimate child, the prostituted orphan girl, and the naked and desolate widow die victims of misery We have seen monuments erected, but not the establishment of hospitals and other charitable institutions millions ransomed to fund public aid even private gatherings in great luxury, but not one cent consecrated to the sake of humanity [14]

Family

Bereft of strong public institutions the poor Mexican pulled for psychological and material support upon his family; the most basic of human institutions Table 29 lists the types of households numbering more than one member that appeared on the random sample of the census of 1645 Nuclear families accounted for over 88 percent of the family types The remaining 44 percent were over one hundred variations of the horizontally or vertically extended family or unrelated households

There is no way to assess objectively the quality of Mexican family relations The following interpretation is based upon the impressions obtained from reading criminal and vagrancy records Consequently it may err toward exaggeration Public law will be quoted only when it is thought to accurately reflect relevant social attitudes

[illegible] lived together for [illegible] four children. Although they separated [illegible] finally loneliness drove them back to each other. Pedro Escovedo, a stonecutter, lived with his partner for seven years and fathered four children. Their poverty prevented them from marrying formally. There was, however, a tendency for poor Mexicans of both sexes to engage in postmarital affairs. Family fights because of such dalliances resulted from mutual jealousy or because the wife discovered her mate spending household money on his bedmates. The court's ruling in one of these cases was that a man's primary obligation was to his first family.[115]

The medieval Spanish law practiced in republican Mexico specified that the husband held the same authority over his family that a king held over his subjects.[116] He therefore expected that his wife would upon him hand and foot and resorted to corporal punishment whenever his expectations were not met. Wife beating was legal if justified by misbehavior. In two cases the courts acquitted men who had punished their wives for not washing clothes or preparing the meals.[117] Women accepted corporal punishment. The wife of Vicente Barreto withdrew charges of maltreatment against her husband by claiming that she had been beaten for good reason. Another woman stated that although her husband

[illegible] despite their husbands' recognized [illegible] Spanish law permitted women to keep their bodies to their husbands whenever they felt physically [illegible] [119] A Mexican court of conciliation surpassed the letter of the law in one case. A female plaintiff had angrily rebuffed the overtures of her husband one day when he came home from work early as she was in the midst of housework.[120] Her husband received a month in jail for the beating that followed. Another case illustrates the subtle boundaries between legitimate authority and abuse of personal honor. Jesús Castro came home to find his wife wearing the white stockings and bright red shoes that he had forbidden her to buy because they were worn by prostitutes. Enraged, he called her a whore and burned her clothes. The court found that his wife was honorable and released Castro on conditions that he apologize and treat her well. His wife, in turn, promised to 'obey him in every way,' and her mother promised to help the husband in every way that she could.'[121]

Custom and law made the husband the household's principal provider. Failure to provide for his wife and family was criminal vagrancy. Allegations of nonsupport always accompanied serious complaints of physical mistreatment. The testimony of Appellants Callejo's wife revealed

[redacted] a woman expected from hnt [redacted] ved her into emttying him by [redacted] w s a journeyman poetry maker She [redacted] ecrd hn wem not even an apprentice In feur ynars of mattragn thn eggrieved wife nleimnd that she hed net rennivnd one-half teal in eupport during her pregnancy ahe had to beg for food Pevnrty fetned hnt te given up her little dengnter When thn infent dnnd hnt husband wenld not evnn given hnt the half tnel burial fem After fent vears of eravecion lacking clethreg and brutal tnnatment, sh left him [122]

Thn birth of a chrld wne an exetremnly antieus event One jautry maknt tnneived twnary dnys aff te assist hin wife's dnlivery [123] Immediatnly efter birth thn attending midwife attempted to nnld thn baby's fentures by plnnreg ite heed in a tertoise shell and lengthening ith fint nean with hnt fingers She thne plennd enulate in ite hands tn protect it from eithnes [124] The nnther tenk principal tesponeibility for aducating thn nhild fnt thn first seven vnars of its irfe [125] Thn *Sennnarie Artincice*, hewevnt, warned fethers to vigilently watnh their children and not oe therr matel gurdes bncauns their wivem wern se carelessly educated [126] Fent nhrldren nften nxperiancnd neglect because their parents whe worknd from dawn to dnsk permittnd thnm to wander all day in the streets lnarning vice and lesing all respect fnr parentnl nuthority [127]

At about the age of seven, the traditional age of mental maturity, poor parents put their children to work par farming household chores if female or entering money if male The male child's earnings were an important part of the family income The father possessed the legal right to it and any property that his son might acquire [128] Naturally fathers desired to keep productive sons in the household until a very late age. Paternal possessiveness conflicted with both adolescent frivolity and the growing yearning of the young man for independence The tension between father and son probably was the origin of the belief that a child who dies before the age of seven becomes an angel in heaven because he had done nothing to offend his father [129]

Widowed mothers were especially concerned with the behavior of their sons, who were their only source of income Hardly a session of the Tribunal de Vogue passed without its hearing the case of an erring lad turned in by his mother The mothers desired no more than that their sons receive a lecture from the judge Misdemeanor appeals followed the discovery that their sons faced seven years of military service. Martin Dominique's plea illustrates the economic importance of her son to her

> He is so obedient and good when I depend for food And if through misfortune I lose him, I will undoubtedly be left to starve [130]

It says much for the basic humanity of the magistrates that in all such cases the boys involved a tongue lashing and were released to the custody of their mothers.

"Law and nature" demanded that children respect their parents absolutely.[131] Even a widowed mother totally dependent upon her son knew the respect owed her. When one mother returned to her room one night to find her adult son sleeping with great satisfaction between two wheres, she packed him off to the Tribunal de Vagos. She later told the magistrates that although her son was not a vagrant, a night in jail and a good fright would teach him a badly needed lesson.[132]

Eventually grown children did go off to start families of their own. Many marriages or liaisons occurred without the consent of both families. Usually a young girl ran away from home to live with her boy friend. As a consequence, her parents became liable to charges of illicit relations, 'rape,' or 'kidnapping.' Fathers, perhaps relieved at the disappearance of economically marginal members of their families, did not appear to press charges against men living with their daughters. Mothers, however, did. Although one mother protested that she did not want her daughter to marry but levar, most wished to protect their daughters' reputation by forcing a legal marriage. A legal marriage, concerning a man plaintiff, 'would never tire honor of her daughter so that no one would mock her.'[133]

[illegible] n [illegible]

the expense of a formal marriage, but others were al[illegible] voived Marriage in Catholic Mexico was for life Ac[illegible] ing to one judge requests for divorces appeared quite fre- quently but the process was lengthy and unpleasant While a canonical court investigated the complaint, honest woman had to be incarcerated Since convents refused to shelter them they suffered the degradation of residence in the Acordada [134] Many liaisons between the young were in the character of trial marriages to avoid the pitfalls of divorce One pregnant seventeen-year-old broke up with her lover when she discovered that he was stingy with the household money Another lived with her mate for a year before discovering his 'awful habits-' Not wishing to marry him, she requested the courts make a settlement of their common property [135]

The high percentage of extended families indicates their importance to the poor Poor men supported destitute relatives whenever it was possible Judging from the fre quency of fights between relatives over money, the extended family was the primary source of small loans Because of the burden of an extended family, private life within a nuclear family could not exist Appolonia Calleja's brothers-in-law, for example, beat him frequently for mistreating his wife

The extended family was of fundamental importance in dealing with other portions of society It protected its

members that found themselves in trouble with the law. One alcalde sarcastically reported that the mob of witnesses testifying on behalf of an accused swore that they were unrelated to the defendant. In another incident a young man was arrested for threatening to kill his wife and mother-in-law. The mother-in-law, a maid in a judge's household, had the youth arrested. A week later her employer was shocked to discover her asking for a $3 advance in her wages to contribute to the *cien buens* (bribe) that was to obtain her son-in-law's release.[136] The extended family used any connections to the administrative system for its own purposes. One alcalde had his son-in-law falsely testify against a young man who was acting his daughter. The young man's family convinced the Tribunal of the lad's good character by swamping it with the testimony of over twenty presumably unrelated witnesses.[137]

Compadrazgo, or fictive kinship, existed but was in decline.[138] García Cubas reported that prospective godparents of relative wealth and position often refused the use of *compadrazgo* unless the friendship was very strong.[139] According to Rivera Cambas, the *cuarta* of the casa *de vecindad* was the comadre of all its residents. Because of the short tenancies of most of the *vecindad*'s occupants, it is reasonable to assume that the parents of the child selected her only to meet the requirements of the baptismal certificate.

[illegible] of *compadrazgo* [illegible] they supplemented the [illegible] family as a system of support The natural parents of a child would, because of their poverty, surrender the legal custody of a child to its godparents When the child reached adolescence, he could choose to resume living with his natural parents [140] Children of both sexes sought shelter from family problems by running away and residing with their godparents [141] Good godparents then mediated the disputes between parents and children Godparents also stayed the injunction to punish the child when its parents died When Benito Angeles's lover beat her, her godfather paid him four reals to leave the neighborhood and later brought him before the Tribunal Poverty limited the effectiveness of a godparent The godmother of one eleven-year-old girl could not support her and had to entrust her charge to a neighbor who subsequently neglected the girl [142] The *compadrazgo* system also linked families with the administration The corrupt alcalde of Nieve Ward 28 established ties of *compadrazgo* with a band of ratcheteers operating in his ward In return for a share of the loot the alcalde would free the bandits whenever they were arrested [143]

A cousin and boundary once told Rebecca Wilson a moving tale of family disintegration Unbound by the ties of a church marriage, her husband had deserted her and her four children A press gang carried off her eldest son and a army bullet killed her daughter during a revolution

[illegible] drunkin brawl her eldest son was performing [illegible] her remaining daughter was unmarriageable because she lacked the money for a wedding Despite her misfortunes the camera considered herself fortunate to have secure employment and free lodgings Wilson judged the story to be fanciful, but containing elements of truth[144]

Appendix G lists six families appearing both on the census of 1842 and 1849 and illustrates that death and the departure of grown children could mutate a family within a seven-year period The rapid mutation did not destroy singers feelings of tenderness between parents and children The impression from the vagrancy and criminal records is that most families tried to develop an esprit de corps to carry on the struggle for survival Mothers were particularly saddened by the deaths of their children Observing the grieving mother of a dead child, Luis de Salleneuf commented, The angel taken to heaven could not replace the one lost on earth "[145] When the little boy who Francis Mayer had fed and clothed died, his impoverished mother arranged a simple but touching funeral[146] The child's body was placed on a rose-bedecked tray; his hands crossed over his chest and bound by a thread of gold, and artificial flowers sprinkled over his body Watching the sad event, Mayer concluded that these people are not as degraded as they appear to be"

Notes

[1] Thompson, p. 191.

[2] Bühler and Lamson, tomo 4, ley 2313.

[3] *Ibid.*, ley 2590.

[4] AACM, tomo 4151, exp. 4, tomo 4155, exp. 111.

[5] AACM, tomo 4151, exp. 6.

[6] AACM, tomo 4155, exp. 228; tomo 4157, exp. 207.

[7] AACM, tomo 4155, exp. 231-47; tomo 3275, exp. 115.

[8] Bustamante, *Apuntes*, p. 7.

[9] Salado Álvarez, p. 10.

[10] Thompson, p. 288.

[11] *Norte, México*, tomo 3, p. 358.

[12] "Honestidad liberal," *Monitor Republicano*, 13 septiembre 1848, p. 4.

[13] Carrión Cubas (1945), p. 473.

[14] AGN, Archivo Histórico de Gobernación.

[15] Thompson, p. 169.

[16] Instrucción general, *Semanario Artístico*, 27 agosto 1843, p. 1.

[17] Meyer, p. 286.

[18] Bustamante, *Apuntes*, p. 7.

[19] Zamacois, tomo 11, pp. 48-49.

[20] AACM, tomo 2294, exp. 30.

[21] "Estado de instituciones públicas," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 4 octubre 1849, p. 3.

[22] Tyler, pp. 251, 252.

[23] Calderón de la Barca, pp. 535, 541.

[24] AACM, tomo 2294, exp. 30.

[25] AACM, tomo 2297, exp. 7; tomo 3686, exp. 35.

[26] Tempral de San Andrés, *Eco de Comercio*, 14 marzo 1848, p. 4.

[27] Kaplan, p. 95. Thompson, p. 5.

[28] AACM, tomo 3890, exp. 2.

[34] "Remitido," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 17 diciembre 1844, [illegible]

[35] AACM, tomo 3890, exp. 2. The calculation is based on a population estimate of 180,000.

[36] AACM, tomo 3686, exp. 35

[37] Dublan and Lozano, tomo 4, ley 2273

[38] Priego (1964), pp. 70, 220

[39] AACM, tomo 3686, exps. 35, 37

[40] AACM, tomo 3686, exp. 33

[41] G. A. Hutchinson, "The Asiatic Cholera Epidemic in 1833 in Mexico," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, January-February, 1968, pp. 1-23

[42] AACM, tomo 3686, exp. 4

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Priego (1964), p. 69.

[46] Orozco y Berra, *Estado*, p. 57

[47] AACM, tomo 4152, exp. 73

[48] Mayer, p. 55. Thrasher, p. 62

[49] Prieto (1948), p. 97

[50] "Estado de instituciones públicas," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 4 octubre 1849, p. 3

[51] AACM, tomo 4152, exp. 73

[52] Ministerio de la Interior, *Memoria de 1838* (México, D.F., 1838), p. 40

[53] Juan B. Peza, *La beneficencia en México* (México, D.F., 1881). Priego (1948), p. 97

[54] Peza, p. 150

[55] Malo, tomo 2, p. 219

[56] Orozco y Berra, *Estado*, pp. 13-14, 24

[57] Calderón de la Barca, p. 519. Kaplow, p. 63

[58] Orozco y Berra, *Estado*, p. 36. Calderón de la Barca, pp. 531-32

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Estado, p. 3. Orozco y Berra, *Estado*, pp. 38-39

[61] Orozco y Berra, *Estado*, pp. 36-37

[illegible] (1945) pp 33 9

[illegible] Estado," p 3

[illegible] García Cubas (1945) p 23

[illegible] Tyler, p 246

[illegible] Mayer, pp 268 70

[illegible] Tylor p 244 Calderón de la Barca [illegible]

[illegible] Estado," p 3

[illegible] Tylor, p 244. García Cubas (1945), p 244

[illegible] AACM tomo 497, naps 163, 165, tomo 298 "Acreo [illegible] diciembre 1841 '

[illegible] Ramírez, *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 9 enero 1844 p 3

[illegible] García Cubas (1945) p 235

[illegible] Ramírez, *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 9 enero 1844 p 3

[illegible] Mayer, pp 268-70

[illegible] Manson vol 1, p 84 AAGM, tomo 1272

[illegible] García Cubas (1945), p 237

[illegible] Estado," p 3

[illegible] Ramírez, *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 29 octubre 1841 p [illegible] 9 noviembre 1841, p 2

[illegible] AACM tomo 2589, "Centro Candelaria Avalo, 1852 tomo 2892 Centro Camilla Guerrero, 1852' tomo 2892, 25 octubre 1852 '

[illegible] J J Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in Nineteenth-Century London* (New York 1967) AACM tomo 3719 exp 63

[illegible] AACM tomo 2892 'Centro Juan Beltierre, 1852 "

[illegible] Nuestros extremanos" p 3

[illegible] Bazant *Alienation* pp 90-91

[illegible] Manuel Ramírez Arriaga, *Las procuradurías de pobres* (México, D F, 1958), p 8

[illegible] Thornton, p 62

[illegible] Thompson, pp 128-29

[illegible] Secretaría de Estado de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio *Memoria de 1857* (México D F, 1857) p 8

[illegible] AACM, tomo 2892 Centro Mecedonio Flores, 1852 '

[84] AACH, tomo 2478, exps. 79, 291.

[85] Populecho, p. 450

[86] Educación moral," *Semanario* [illegible]

[87] *Ibid*

[88] El trabajo," p. 1

[89] Estrada

[90] AACH, tomo 2478, exp. 278.

[91] AACH tomo 2479, exp. 386; tomo 2480, [illegible]

[92] AACH, tomo 2480 exp. 280; tomo 2479, [illegible] 386

[93] Carefa Cubas (1945), p. 404. Estrada, pp. 498-505

[94] *Ibid*

[95] Carefa Cubas (1945), p. 406

[96] Estrada pp. 495, 497. Also personal conversation with T. de Estrada, December 1, 1972

[97] Mako, tomo 1, p. 231

[98] AACH, tomo 2478, exp. 327

[99] Estrada, p. 512

[100] AACH, tomo 2478, exp. 378

[101] *Ibid*., exp. 386. "Remitido," *Sol*, 21 febrero 1830

[102] AACH, tomo 2478, exp. 327

[103] AACH, tomo 142, "Actas de 2 junio 1842."

[104] AACH, tomo 2478, exp. 303

[105] AACH, tomo 2479, exp. 378

[106] The table is copied from señora de Estrada's article

[107] Thompson, pp. 152-53

[108] AACH, tomos 4151-54, 4778-884

[109] Calderón de la Barca, p. 285.

[110] Thompson, p. 148

[111] James Mease, *The Picture of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1811), p. 15

[112] Sidney Pomarantz, *New York: An American City 1783-1803* (New York, 1938), pp. 297-354.

[113] Mease, p. 16

a Manuel [illegible]
1852 [illegible] rre 185[illegible]
153

[1] Rodríguez de [illegible] *Pande[illegible]*
mexicanos (México, D.F. [illegible] 1cy 7[illegible]

[2] AACM, tomo 2891, "Contra Luis Guzmá[illegible] 1[illegible]
1852 [illegible] tomo 2892, "Contra Mariano Espinosa[illegible] 3 enero 1852"

[3] AACM, tomo 4778, exp. 307H, tomo 4781, exp. 364

[4] Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Pandectas*, ley 2691

[5] AACM, tomo 2891, "Contra Domingo Heriz, 4 octubre 1852

[6] AACM, tomo 2760, "Contra Jesús Castro, 2 marzo 1851"

[7] AACM, tomo 4151 exp. 37

[8] AACM, tomo 4152, exp. 80

[9] García Cubas (1945), p. 183

[10] AACM tomo 3683, exp. 43

[11] Educación moral, p. 1

[12] Vega, *Semanario Artístico*, 27 abril 1844, p. 1

[13] Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Pandectas*, ley 2813

[14] Bellomar, pp. 25-29

[15] AACM, tomo 462, 4784

[16] Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Pandectas*, ley 2813

[17] AACM, tomo 4153, exp. 107

[18] AACM, tomo 2859, "Contra Ramón Leyva, 15 junio 1852

[19] AACM, tomo 496, exp. 106

[20] AACM, tomo 2889, "Contra Luis Vierna, 12 septiembre 1852, "Contra José Bustamante, 3 febrero 1852"

[21] AACM, tomo 3690, exp. 66

[22] AACM, tomo 4151, exp. 24

[23] Manuel L. Carlos and Lois Sellers, "Family, Kinship Structure, and Modernization in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review*, Summer 1972, pp. 95-99

[24] García Cubas (1945), p. 182

[25] AACM, tomo 2760, "Diligencias, 2 marzo 1849

1852"; tome [illegible], exp 21

[illegible] tome 4134 exp [illegible]

[143] AACM, tome 391, exp 34

[144] Wilson, p 286

[145] Bellemar, p 29

[146] Meyer, pp 56-57

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGION AND RECREATION

> [illegible] the poor who are without schools [illegible] workshops and often without [illegible] to support life, the service that [illegible] Mexican clergy has provided to the [illegible] is very great--maintaining the [illegible] regions in a subordination that [illegible] not have been possible without [illegible] moral influence of religion
>
> --Luis G. Cuevas 1850

Religion

The Church was omnipresent. In a city of "severe" or "haste" secular architecture, the religious buildings were striking.[1] Through their towering, ornate splendor the convents and the churches conveyed the power and majesty of the Roman Catholic faith to the city. Their spires rising high above private and public buildings proclaimed the omnipotence of God in the world of man. The exquisite carvings of the external walls of the interior chapels with plated and carved panels, colorful images, and paintings were especially for the poor, the only glimpse of beauty in a drab and ugly

world. Decades after most of the convents and monasteries had become the victims of reform and modernization, men who passed their childhoods in the first decades of the nineteenth century would write lovingly and sadly of a vanished glory.[2]

The pealing bells of the Church overwhelmed the public psychology. During the hours of prayer they inspired the population with a superstitious fervor.[3] Guillermo Prieto described the sound of church bells ringing during the earthquake reverberations of St. Cecilia n May 1840 as apocalyptic.[4] During the cholera epidemic of 1833, their monotonal tolling "infused the stricken population with such terror that the ayuntamiento prohibited the practice."[5]

The clergy was highly visible. Thompson observed "an immense number of officers, soldiers, lépero, priests and friars, all equally useless."[6] The mendicant friars of the street were Guillermo Prieto's "great distraction and pleasure." The most prestigious proved their holiness and wisdom by the raggedness of their habits, uncombed hair, filthy hands, and unshaven faces.[7] Nobody could ignore the carriage, each door adorned with a painting of an enormous eye, escorted by soldiers and lay brothers ringing bells, carrying priests bringing the host to sick or dying Christians.[8]

The Archdiocese of Mexico City governed the ecclesiastical affairs of the entire nation. In addition to its suffragan bishoprics, it had under its direct responsibility a large, irregular area extending to Tampico in the northeast

[illegible] and Vera Cruz [illegible]

[illegible]

summaries [illegible] colleges and [illegible]

ponent of [illegible] included a secretariat, the metropolitan vicarate and council, the mint of emeralds, chaplaincies and pious works, and the accountancy and treasury.[10] The *mitre*, the popular name for the office of the archbishop, staffed and administered the hospitals of San Andrés, San Hipólito, and San Lázaro.

The capital contained fourteen parishes. The Sagrario, the oldest and largest parish, was founded in 1523 to serve the needs of the Spaniards.[11] Its territory covered most of the original Traza. Its parish church on the eastern side of the national cathedral symbolized its primacy. San Miguel, founded in 1690, occupied later extensions of the Traza. Parishes serving the barrios formed the edges of the Traza. San Antonio de las Huertas on the extreme southeastern fringes of the city was depopulated by the end of the colonial period.[12] Table 30 presents the population of the parishes according to the Spanish census of 1811.

Because the parish church was a focus of public attention and because its records were until 1860 the only source of census data and civil records, it served occasionally as a secular administrative unit. In 1824 and 1828 the parishes were the electoral districts for national and municipal election.[13] In 1825 the parish church publicized and served as

[illegible] 1800 vaccination campaign [14] During the [illegible] currency devaluation of 1841, it became the [illegible] to the municipality distributed poor relief [15]

Until Spain formally recognized the independence of Mexico in 1840, the nation lacked an archbishop [16] The archbishopric's staff, however, remained and sometimes even formally Guidebooks published in 1841 and 1851 listed 51 and 47 persons assigned to the mitre's staff [17] The "Libro de inscripcion," or ecclesiastical register of 1851, listed 304 clergy staffing the offices of the archbishop and the colleges [18] It is unclear, however, whether the "Libro" includes the names of deceased clergy and clergy who had been removed or the staff but had since been reassigned [19]

The number of regular clergy was slowly diminishing as vocations declined and the professed died In 1835 More reformers government reports, claimed that 1,688 monks and 911 nuns existed in the entire nation [20] The guidebook of 1851 listed only 91 monks in Mexico City These were 44 Franciscans, 17 Augustinians, 15 Diegans, 12 Carmelites, and 3 Mercedarians [21] Within 31 lived the twenty one female orders not including the Sisters of Charity, that existed in the capital in 1861 The largest concents were in Encot conlfe and in Cmecopelfe The total populations of the convents was 561 The Sisters of Charity, who arrived in Mexico City in 1843 supervised and staffed the municipal hospitals [22]

[illegible] guidebooks list three priests assigned to [illegible] Segrario and one priest to each of the remaining parish[illegible] This was an absurdly insufficient number to attend to a [illegible] lation of 180,000. The "Libro de inscripción" however [illegible] cords at least one priest and a vicar assigned to twelv[illegible] the parishes. Soledad de Santa Cruz although lacking a priest possessed three vicars.[24] San Antonio de las Huertas possessed one priest but no vicars. More clergy actually occupied themselves in parish work. A document from 1846 mentions seventeen priests assigned to the Segrario.[25] The parish records show that clergy from the Mercedarian monastery and the nuns regularly performed duties in the smaller parishes.[26]

The random sample of the census of 1848 shows that the clergy residing outside the convents amounted to 1 percent of the adult male population. This percentage indicates the presence of approximately 320 secular and regular clergy in the capital.[27] In 1841, however, members of the ayuntamiento reported to Thompson that 2,300 secular and regular clergy resided in the capital.[28] Thompson's figure is probably nearer the truth. Because of the growing hostility between church and state, the Church had good reason to mislead the compilers of guidebooks and the census takers.

In 1857 Edward Tyler reported that the Church owned one half of the property of Mexico City and received an income of ten million pesos a year. Were it evenly distri-

annuities [illegible] shortcomings by the royal [illegible] Bazant. During the Napoleonic wars, bankrupt Spanish governments had sequestered many Church properties and endowments. Although the Church, particularly the convents, owned considerable real property in Mexico City (presented in Table 32), physical deterioration, the extensive failure of tenants to pay rent, and illiquidity within the depressed economy limited its practical value. Much of it also was pledged as collateral to back the bonds of bankrupt regimes.[30] After 1833 the government abolished the mandatory tithes that were an important source of clerical income. Facing a diminishing income, the Church personified itself as waging a constant struggle to maintain the traditional standards for proper worship.

The straitened circumstances of the Church affected the ease with which it could expand or repair buildings, contributed to the depression of the construction industry that lasted from 1824 to 1857.[31] The Church reluctantly engaged in charitable activities. After 1824 the hospital of the Franciscan Terceritas was the only one founded and supervised by a religious order.[32] During the 1833 cholera epidemic, the *ayuntamiento* asked the monasteries and convents to contribute money for relief. Not one responded. Only the community of La Merced established an emergency hospital at

the request of the city. The curate and the patishes also established emergency hospitals.[33] Although the archbishop established a cholera hospital during the 1850 epidemic, it would not have been a very large one. In the combined dioceses of Mexico, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Michoacán and Chiapas, only 7,648 patients received treatment.[34] Cholera sickened 36,000 in Mexico City alone.

Ejidatarios was the nonconstitutional responsibility of the ayuntamientos, but even Conservatives were of the opinion that the establishment of schools by the municipios and monasteries would be just "recompense" for the property and money that society had borrowed upon them.[35] The religious orders, however, did not view requests to re-establish schools enthusiastically. In 1823 the offices of the archbishop speaking for the convents, pled their poverty. The convents, according to their defender, justified their existence by performing acts of penitence and mercy and by preparing young girls to be good mothers or servants.[36] Prodded by the anti-clerical regime of Gómez Farías (1833-1834), eight religious orders established schools. Eight years later only five existed. In 1842 the ayuntamiento complained that the re-maining schools were poorly advertised and inconveniently located. That year the monastery of San Diego informed the ayuntamiento that it was closing down its school. The convent, whose rector, was short on members, lacked trained personnel and did not wish to be submitted to the degradation

[illegible] to [illegible]

The parishes of th[illegible]ty were under [illegible] attack Efforts to remain solvent focused upon th[illegible]. According to Mota, the greater part of Church tithes supported the upper clergy who lived in idleness and luxury The parish priest, deprived of his fair share, depended upon excessively high parish fees to feed worship and to support himself High marriage fees discouraged matrimony and stimulated concubinage The burial fee was the "worst and most immoral" transaction After the grief-stricken family had exhausted its resources caring for the deceased the priest took advantage of the circumstances to charge dearly for a Christian burial [38] The ayuntamiento reiterated this charge when it banned parish burials in 1834.[39]

The question of parish fees is more complex than Mota would have it The Church pursued an equivocal policy A pamphlet in 1840 admitted that the abolition of separate schedules for whites, castes, and Indians following independence had created confusion regarding proper charges To clarify matters it advised priests to charge the highest fees formerly restricted to Spaniards but repeated an edict of 1721 ordering priests to provide free sacraments to the poor Since the pamphlet was advisory in nature, compliance was a matter of conscience [40]

In [illegible] City marriage fees w[illegible] priest of Santa Catarina Mártir charged $m 6 for a wedding—a sum equivalent to a poor man's life savings. High illegitimacy rates indicate that the poor did not marry in the Church. Young men arrested for living with a woman without the consent of her parents usually pleaded that they "lacked sufficient resources" for a marriage.[41]

Baptismal and burial fees were reasonable. Baptisms at Santa Catarina cost a minimum of one real, an extremely low fee considering the seriousness of the charges leveled against the Church.[42] Table 33 shows the disproportionate number of baptisms in the smaller parishes. The smaller parishes of the city may have competed with the larger parishes for baptismal revenues.

The smaller parishes charged low burial fees. Immediately after the city banned parish burials, six parish priests complained to the ayuntamiento. They admitted their total dependence upon burial fees but pointed out that the charge was no more than four reales; the extremely poor were buried without charge. The cost of burials at the Hospicio de Santiago Tlatelolco, continued the priests, varied from $4 to $8 because frightened cargadores charged extremely high fees to carry bodies. In the Sagrario, however, burial fees were high, and the needy were denied free burial. When the municipality investigated a complaint made against the Sagrario in 1846, its notary grudgingly admitted that the cost

[illegible] charges [illegible]

[illegible] burial-fee controversy was [illegible] In 1846 the ayuntamiento rebuked it for charging the families of prisoners who died in the municipal hospitals a two-real burial fee. Since the families of the deceased were destitute, the municipality requested that the *mitre* "have the Christian charity to provide free burials."[44] In 1849 Santa Paula, the cemetery of the hospital of San Andrés became the municipal cemetery. It charged a burial fee of twelve reals. The complaint of Father Zarate of Santa Catarina Mártir against the cemetery reveals the incredibly degrading conditions which the poor experienced. The gist of Father Zarate's complaint was that Santa Paula refused to accept the bodies of paupers. The hospital was no means as to return the bodies of abandoned infants to the parishes where they had been discovered. The father wrote specifically on behalf of one Manuel Guerrastro whom, contrary to municipal and canon law, he had permitted to beg at the church door to collect his mother's burial fees. Although Guerrastro collected nine reals, the cemetery refused his mother a body. The lad stayed begging at the church door for two more days, the rotting body of his mother by his side, before collecting the full sum.[45]

It is a strange how all the world even
mankind seems to expect from human
life to assume religion as a profession
a degree of superhuman perfection
Their failings are ensianed upon
Every eye is upon them to mark what-
soever may be amiss in their conduct
Their virtues, their learning their
holy lives—nothing will avail them
if one blot can be discovered in
their characters In the Catholic re-
ligion, whom more is professed untill
more is demanded, and the errors of
one person or community seems to
throw a shade even the whole community
to which they belong [46]

Don Caldeñón de la Barca's musings reflected the
[illegible] poor opportunities of the capital's regular clergy
to advance fathers labored ruthlessly in the hamlets The
"pale nuns" in the declining convents led lives of "privation
and virtue" and often 1843 the Sisters of Charity was the
exception of the most antiClerical Liberals; but the antics
of a few scoundrels blackened the reputations of all Tales
of monkish misconduct abounded Named on his expeditions in
Mexico City, Luis de Gulleman invented the fictional Fray
Serapio The picaresque friar- an inveterate gambler and
aficionado of the bull ring, hid when called upon to confess
on dying [47] The friar was imaginary but monks like his
existed Guillermo Prieto wrote of the Franciscans who sang
so sweetly when "he would make monks" and of the Mercedarian
who, dressed as a rakish bandito regularly quenched his
thirst in the pulquerías [48] When a man was stabbed to death
near the monastery of San Francisco- those seeking a confessor

[redacted]

[redacted]ndai occurred in 1849 when the monks of the monastery of San Agustín screwled "manwimmed wheles" across the walls of the hospital of San Pablo, administered by the highly respected Sisters of Charity. An investigation by the ayuntamiento revealed that the Augustinians had been holding nightly revels with *léperas* in the Plaza de San Pablo. Their antics disturbed the hospital's patients, but the abbess superior refused to complain in fear of creating bad publicity for the city's religious. The abbess finally protested when a monk entered the hospital under the deception of confessing a sick patient and seduced a maid. Her complaints to the rowdy monks were greeted with howls of derision and a shower of rocks. Later they retaliated with the obscenity. The apology of the Augustinian's elderly prior, himself innocent, resolved the incident.[50]

In 1848 *Siglo Diez y Nueve* published a complaint against the behavior of Padre Aguilar, the priest of an unspecified parish who only resided in the capital on weekends when he collected his fees and gave Mass. Poorly guarded by a feeble-minded secretary, the church fell as an easy prey to thieves. The padre had even refused to contribute $3 for the establishment of a school.[51]

TABLE 30
POPULATION OF PARISHES, CENSUS OF 1816

Sagrario	50,000
San Miguel	24,000
Santa Catarina	10,000
Santa Vera Cruz	8,000
San José	4,000
Santa Ana	6,000
Santa Cruz y Soledad	18,000
San Sebastián	6,000
Santa María	4,000
San Pablo	8,000
Santa Cruz Acatlán	4,000
Salto del Agua	6,000
Santa Tomás de las Palmas	6,000
San Antonio de las Huertas	4,000

SOURCE AAGM, leg 873, exp 2

TABLE 31
POPULATION OF NUNNERIES, 1861

Encarnación	44	Santa Catalina de Sena	25
Concepción	36	San Bernardo	23
Capuchinas	35	Santa Clara	22
Ensenanza Antigua	35	Santa Teresa la Antigua	22
Regina	30	San Juan de la Penitencia	22
San Lorenzo	30	Santa Teresa la Nueva	21
Jesus María	29	Ensenanza la Nueva	21
Santa Brígida	28	Corpus Christi	19
Balvanera	27	Santa Inés	17
San Jerónimo	26	San José de Gracia	22
Santa Isabel	25		

SOURCE: Antonio García Cubas, *El libro de mis recuerdos* (México: D F , 1945) p 38

TABLE 3

[illegible] PROPERTIES [illegible]

Corporation	Properties	Value
20 nunneries	1 02'	89 756 123
11 monasteries	103	1 307 645
Colleges	132	809,836
Congregations & brotherhoods	157	1 431 984
Hospitals	96	1,067,076
Pious works	57	367,287

SOURCE: Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico* trans Michael P Costeloe (Cambridge, 1971), p 94, Table 8

TABLE 33
BAPTISMS, 1842

Parish	Population	Baptisms	Rate[a]
Sagrario	50,000	1,499	29 98
San Miguel	24,000	435	18 00
Santa Catarina	20 000	680	34 00
Santa Vera Cruz	8,000	605	75 00
San José	4,000	508	127 00
Santa Ana	6,000	159	27 00
Santa Cruz y Salmedá	18,000	763	42 00
San Sebastián	6,000	438	73 00
Santa María	4,000	178	45 00
San Pablo	8,000	603	75 00
Santa Cruz Actlan	4,000	60	15 00
Salto del Agua	6,000	511	40 00
Santa Tomás de la Palma	6 000	172	29 00
San Antonio de Las Huertas	4,000	39	10 00

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1811 AAGN, tomo 873

[a]Per thousand

The conduct of Pedro Aguilar was the exception. Thompson, a pronounced anti-Catholic, wrote that one might always expect charity at a priest's home.[52] More, the period's most noted muckraker, penned this sympathetic description of the parish priest and his duties:

> A parish priest has no minute hour or moment of rest since he can be called in less time than one thinks a considerable distance in the middle of the strongest rains or the burning rays of the torrid zone or the rigors of the frigid zone to aid the sick. He has to perform the burials, baptisms, and marriages and prepare the certificates for all of them, and he cannot even considering all this rest on a festival day which is under his supervision. He walks by necessity, traveling hungry many leagues in order to give Mass at points many miles apart.[53]

The earliest target of criticism was ecclesiastical funding, not the parish clergy themselves.

The poor stood in awe of the clergy and their religion. A colonial official wrote that when the archbishop passed in his carriage, the plebe would remain kneeling for minutes in a 'most humble and blind deference.'[54] The parish clergy's influence among the poor was so great that the ayuntamiento asked them to publicize the 1825 smallpox vaccination drive in its sermons.[55] Clerical misconduct did not diminish the respect of the poor for the regulars. Mollenal wrote of Fray Sotomin:

Only [illegible] could walk [illegible] among [illegible] thieves and cutthroats, and [illegible] that movement [illegible] did it yield more respect than the traffic of the policeman's baton. Like domesticated tigers, but thronged to kiss the hand of [illegible] Saragia [56]

When a priest walked by carrying the Host all passers-by observed the almost mandatory practice of genuflecting. Protestant foreigners on their first visit to Mexico City heard cries of the North American shoemaker who was murdered when he refused to kneel [57]

The priest was the absolute authority on the word of God [58] Thompson asked Mexicans of all classes if they believed that the real body of Christ was present in the host. They all replied that Christ's presence must be symbolic. Then he gleefully informed them that their belief was at variance with Catholic doctrine and to consult a priest if they did not believe him. To the diplomat's disgust the Mexicans all replied that if the priest said it was so then despite their incredulity, it must be so [59]

The *Eco de Comercio* criticized the priest for encouraging superstition [60] Juan Barquera accused him of teaching a 'dull and casuistic routine' when he could be following in the footsteps of the immortal Hidalgo by teaching the secrets of industry, arts and agriculture [61] Charges against the parish clergy were to a certain extent justified

Their [illegible] in 1840 was [illegible]
mentary [illegible] Muhammad [illegible]
Reiterated on the last page [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

1 Preach and encourage Christian virtues

2 Teach the ignorant the rudiments of the faith to salvation and educate to God and their parents

3 Give Masses wherever tradition calls for them and may them for free if necessity demands

4 Reside in the parishes

5 On festive days have adults pray aloud so that they will not forget them. Make sure the adults know the days of obligation from memory and don't attend Mass [62]

[illegible] priest worked as best he could with parishioners who practiced the primitive folk Catholicism still common in modern Latin America. His flock was obsessed with death and the hope of the afterlife. In the barrios the people attended church solely to pray for the souls of their dead relatives. When burials in the parishes were banned, it was impossible to find volunteers to maintain the church particularly in possessions not rare for the graveyards. [63] The efficacy of indulgences were taken for granted. Thompson was astonished when his maid asked him for a $2 loan to purchase one that would free her mother from ten thousand years of purgatory. His polite skepticism shocked her. [64]

[illegible] with results opposite from those which were intended. [illegible] flocked to the shrine of the Virgen de Guadalupe during the smallpox epidemic of 1840 -the convalescents to beg relief, the cured to give thanks... and the healthy to be spared. The epidemic therefore spread to the healthy.[65] At other times the exploitation of the reverence for the saints approached chicanery, at least from the point of view of Protestant observers. When the rainy season failed to arrive in 1827, the mitre and the ayuntamiento sponsored a procession of the Virgen de los Remedios. Thornton remarked that since the rainy season was certain to arrive within a few weeks or even days, all would hail the efficacy of the procession.[66]

It was true that the priest encouraged the peoples' primitive theology to suit his own ends. Fear of purgatory increased attendance at Mass. Thompson's servant claimed that he would spend seven thousand years in purgatory for each Mass that he missed.[67] The sale of indulgences and parish burial fees was an important source of revenue. The beliefs preceded the priest's exploitation of them, and until the educational level of the people was raised, they would not disappear. Since public education was rightfully the responsibility of the ayuntamiento the priest cannot be blamed for the ignorance of his flock. To attempt to eradicate the beliefs on his own would almost certainly have led to frustration and violence.

The parish clergy did try to provide public [illegible]. In 1835 the priest of Santa Tomás de la Palma repeated the request of his predecessor for the establishment of a municipal school. His parish was a "good example of the school of ignorance where thieves and murderers received their education." Only four of his parishioners knew enough Christian doctrine to participate in prayers. Such ignorance and poverty were commonplace, all the parishes had 'zealously" sought the creation of municipal schools. He concluded that until education raised his flock from their "malcreper and ignorance,' their moral and theological training would be impossible.[68]

The religion of the poor may also be interpreted positively for it gave meaning to the lives of people menaced by a violent, ugly, and painful world. Luis G. Cuevas, the prelerical conservative historian, praised the Church in 1850:

> For the poor who are without schools, without workshops, and often without work to support life, the service that the Mexican clergy has provided is the extreme is very great--maintaining the populations in a subordination that would not have been possible without the powerful influence of religion.[69]

Santa Cruz [illegible]ioyo by building altars in every [illegible] and constructing cities, exploding fireworks and clanging [illegible]

On the twenty-fourth of June, the day of San Juan, the male children of Mexico City donned costumes and engaged in [illegible] between Christians and Moors.[70] The day of any saint, no matter how minor, was an important event in the neighborhood of the parish church or convent that wished to celebrate it.[71] On the night before the celebration a group of boys carried placards displaying the saint to be honored and, escorted by musicians, paraded around the church and through the neighborhood distributing printed or handwritten invitations. The priest accompanied these collecting contributions. The next day the church was splendidly decorated, and at night the church and all the houses of the barrio were illuminated by needle light. The Mass and the procession commenced later in the evening and were followed by a fireworks display. In the fiesta atmosphere little boys ran about their neighborhood who were lucky enough to be carrying toritos (a wooden frame resembling a bull lined with firecrackers) and the entire neighborhood filled with the noise of street vendors, the glare of light, and the smoke of exploding fireworks. Later the neighbors

occurred during the Easter season [illegible] the Lenten feast During the wild and [illegible] the poor dressed in fantastic costumes and [illegible] with gourds filled with slny powder or pestilent water [1] Before Holy Week there occurred three city-wide processions of which that of the Passo de la Vigo took on the character of a holiday walk in the country [74] The city's excitement reached fever pitch during Holy Week Convents displayed the life of Christ with their most treasured images [75] The poor purchased *matracas* (rattles) representing the bones of Judas and walked about the streets shaking them to illustrate their intentions of breaking the traitor's bones During the processions the people rattled their *matracas* and publicly humiliated effigies of Judas or heretics [76] On Easter Sunday the populace poised for an explosion of religious and less solemn exuberance At the Cathedral a High Mass attended by the city's notables was in progress In the barrios every shop was open, and people crowded the balconies of houses to watch the ensuing celebrations In the carriage shops, coachmen hurriedly put the finishing touches on the floats that were soon to be paraded After the cathedral choir finished the *in excelcis Deo*, an artillery salvo announced the resurrection of Christ At

the sound of [illegible]ive the arrival [illegible] fiesta entered the streets. Revelers set off [illegible] of Judas or ran through the streets observing the [illegible] practice of tying fireworks to dogs' tails.[77]

The religious celebrations possessed a rowdy and vulgar character that religious and public authorities disliked. Drunken mascots and mayordomos celebrating the day of Santa Cruz engaged in bloody brawls. The battles between the Moors and the Christians degenerated into teen-age gang wars.[78] The ecclesiastical cabildo (council) noted that regularly during religious solemnities and particularly those of Christmas, many of the 'gente popular' went intoxicated by a reprehensible joy, and above all by drunkenness, to make terrible and lamentable abuses and excesses.[79] Holy Week celebrations became so disorderly that in 1836 a conservative government banned portrayals of Moors, Samsons, Jews, costitians, spies, and pharisees from the processions. A liberal government, fearing that the rivalries of pro and anticlerical political factions would intensify the traditional disorder, repeated the prohibition in 1857.[80]

Luis de Hellemans's description of a lower-class velorio (wake) demonstrates how an ostensibly religious ceremony could be debased to almost scandalous vulgarity. In the center of a small room lay the body of a child. It had been there for several days and was beginning to decompose. As the parents served food and drink, twenty guests diverted

themselves by gambling for piles of copper money that w[illegible] lying on the floor The air was thick with smoke, alcoholic fumes, and the stench of the cadaver The father of the deceased was pleased that his young son had become an angel in heaven and also that his guests were enjoying themselves Only the mother appeared to be truly grief stricken For her the angel takes to heaven could hardly replace the one she had lost on earth [81] At 12:00 p m everybody kneeled for prayers and for the first time, Belleaar reflected, their behavior echoed the occasion [82]

The *pulquería* was the barrio's center of adult recreation Twenty six licensed *pulquerías* existed in the city in 1824 Because of colonial regulations most were located in the barrios The typical establishment was an immense chunk fifty yards long by twenty yards deep roofed with slate or shingles and supported by pillars of wood or stone painted red, green, or blue [83] Huge murals depicting the titanic struggles of knights matadors or dragons decorated its whitewashed rear wall Broad, brightly painted barrels of pulque six feet in height and labeled with vulgar sayings stood in a long row at the rear of the building At right angles to the pulque barrels lay a long table holding glasses, cards, dice, and cards [84] Waitresses dressed as *chinas poblanas* served the pulque with large measures The men conversed or gambled as they drank [85] Outside under broad awnings, men and women danced or sang to guitar music

[illegible] fandango at one *pulquería* given by [illegible] arrived five Durango At the fandango, w[illegible] lared degenerated into a knife fight[illegible] variants of the Moorish *jarabe* named "The Shoemaker" The Little Tailor, or "The Swordsman were performed [85] The great term of the *jarabe* dancers was to keep their bodies rigid from the waist up while rapidly and erotically swaying their hips and stamping their feet To prove prowess, the warm accomplished dancers would balance a glass of water on their heads and perform the dance without spilling a drop [86] The dances were accompanied by erotic or bawdy lyrics Those which accompanied one dance exhalted the virtues of pulque

> Sabe que es pulque
> Licor divino-e
> Lo beben los Angeles
> el mismo-e [87]

Gambling was popular recreation for all classes [88] Men, women, and children played monte, dice, or reynata (a form of tic-tac-toe) in their homes, on the streets and even in the warehouse [89] Cockfighting ranked second only to bullfighting as a national passion [90] General Santa Anna bred fighting cocks and held public cockfights attended by *léperos* [91] Señora de la Barca expressed surprise when while in Europe and the United States only rogues attended cockfights, the best families in Mexico favored the sport [92]

Although private gambling was illegal, Branta Mayer reported that hundreds of gambling halls operated daily.[93]

The government's policy toward gambling was ambivalent. Public lotteries supported hospitals, the shrine of the Virgen de Guadalupe, and the Academy of Fine Arts.[94] The festival held at San Agustín, twelve miles from Mexico City, was a legalized three-day revel at which fortunes were made and lost. All classes of Mexicans from the president of the Republic to the lowest beggar dined, played cards, and attended bull and cockfights. Tables designated for gambling in gold, silver, or copper coins created a degree of social segregation. The Mexican practice of saving for a year in order to squander their money at the festival disgusted the puritanical Thompson.[95]

Bullfighting, the Mexican's first love, combined pageantry, skill, and bravery with the passion for gambling. A *jamaica* or *monte parnasse* always preceded the bullfights. Showings held in the larger plazas of the city and at the Garita de Peralvillo. The *jamaica*, a carnival-like atmosphere of booths patronized with flowers from which refreshments were sold, appeared in the plaza on the day of the *corrida*. The *monte parnasse*, an artificial tree twelve to fifteen feet high festooned with brightly colored streamers and packets containing small sums of money, stood in the plaza's center. At the cry of "Toro, Toro!" the plaza was cleared save for the daring young men who attempted to climb

[illegible] and money. The noisy swaying brightly colored *monte parnaso* immediately caught the attention of the bull. The men in the tree fighting each other for the prizes ignored the beast. The climax of the event came when the bull battered the tree and its occupants to the ground to the amusement of the spectators.[96]

Bullfights held in the Plaza de Toros were pompous affairs. In the days of General Santa Anna, the general, his staff, and his magnificently attired guards attended them, and military bands playing operatic overtures serenaded the assemblage of notables. Fanny Calderón de la Barca saw nobility in the rearing of the lord of lowing herds, the skill of the riders, the gay dresses, the music, and the agile matador--in short, the whole circumstances of combat."[97] Tyler, in contrast, found Mexican bullfights to be well below the standards of Europe. He was, however, impressed by the *lazadores* who "lassoed" the bulls by the horns and the *caleceros* who tossed charging bulls by their tails.[98] All agreed that the exotic spectacle delighted the *léperos* who packed the unheeded galleries.[99]

The government sponsored bullfights in the belief that the spectacles stimulated bravery and patriotism.[100] Foreign and Mexican critics of the sport believed that the appeal to animal lusts would only have undesirable consequences for people so scarcely removed from an animal existence.[101] Antonio Corsín Cubas added that "it hardly helped the low

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] ctm Zamacois witnessed Santa Anna's extrava

[illegible]

The brilliance of these fiestas fascinated the people who did not think, but they were a bitter irony to the people who suffered [19]

Notes

[1] Ruxton, p 20 Maleda Alvarez, pp 135-36 La- pp 110-11

[2] Garcia Cubas (1945) pp 1-136 Rivera Cambas, 1 2 Marroquí, tomos 1, 3 5

[3] Polancett p 139

[4] Prieto (1948), p 249

[5] AACM tomo 1676, exp 4

[6] Thompson p 128

[7] Prieto (1964), pp 169-70

[8] Calderón de la Barca, p 117

[9] Rivera Cambas, tomo 1

[10] AGN tomo 127 exp 2

[11] Gibson pp 378 388 Marroquí, tomo 1, pp 101-102

[12] Alfredo Fina... *Relación descriptiva de la fundación [illegible] iglesias y conventos de México* (México, D F , 1863)

[13] AACM, tomo 872 exp 1

[14] AACM, tomo 3686, exp 37

[15] AACM tomo 3284, exp 17

[16] Calderón de la Barca, p 122

[17] Galvan Rivera, 1862 Almanac

[18] AGN, tomo 127, exp 2

[19] Many of the names inscribed in the 'Libro' are annotated deceased with dates that indicate that the individual serving in the office had completed a term of service

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] de la Parca p [illegible] 57

[illegible]ur, pp 9-12

[illegible]n (1964), p 170

[illegible]r; p 287

[illegible]CH tome 302, Actas de 12 septiembre [illegible]9

[illegible] Supplemento 190," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* [illegible] diciembre [illegible]

[2] Thompson, p 114

[5] Mere, *El clero* pp 29 30

[53] AACM tome 3689 exp 43

[55] AACM tome 3686 exp 37

[56] Bellenar, pp 9-12

[57] Ruxton; p 47

[58] Barquera, pp 16 17

[59] Thompson, pp 108-109

[60] [illegible]uble hoja," p 3

[61] [illegible]rquera, pp 16-17

[62] Juan Polofox y Mendoza, *Manual para la precisa presente, y facil administración de los santos sacramentos* (México, D F , 1856)

[63] AACM; tome 3673, exps 25-26

[64] Thompson, p 42

[65] Mayer, p 143

[66] Thornton, p 54

[67] Thompson, p 42

[68] AACM tome 2478 exps 25 33

[69] Cuevas, tome 5, p 47

[70] AACM, tome 3631 exps 307, 291

[71] Prieto (1964), p 190

[72] García Cubas (1945), p 284 Prieto (1964), p 190

[73] Prieto (1964); p 190

[74] García Cubas (1945), pp 308-334

[75] Thompson

[76] Tyler, pp 49-50

[77] García Cubas (1945), pp 308-34 Mayer p 150 [illegible]lor pp 49-50

[illegible] 3631, exp 307

[illegible] tomo 2266, exp 6

[illegible]a Cubas (1945) pp 308-316

[illegible]llemer pp 25-29

[illegible]r Fs Cuéoe (1945), pp 220-27

[illegible]reto (1964), pp 42-45

[illegible]cia Cubas (1945), p 227

[illegible]x n p 55

[illegible]rico (1964)... p... 241...

[illegible]con. p 55...

[illegible]ceo mexicano, tomo I, p 35

[illegible]l juego, *Semanario Artistico*, 23 marzo 1844... p...

[illegible]hompsen, p 231

Prieto (1948), p 105

Calderón de la Barca, p 272

[illegible]Mayer p 78

[illegible]Wilson, p 193

[illegible]Thompson, pp 132-34...

[illegible]Bellemer pp 10-15

[illegible]García Cubas (1945), p 274 Calderón de la Barca pp. 197 271

[illegible]Tylor, pp. 71-72

[illegible]Mayer, pp. 28, 61 Tylor, pp 71 72

[illegible]García Cubas (1945) p 274

[illegible]García Cubas (1945) p 274... Calderón de la Barca, p 121 Mayer, pp 26, 61

[illegible]García Cubas (1945) p 274...

[illegible]Prieto (1964), p 87

[illegible]Malo, roma 1, pp 83-84

[illegible]Zamacois, tomo 12, p 302

[illegible]Thompson, p 53

[illegible]Tylor, p. 19

[illegible]Malo, tomo 2 pp 83-84

[illegible]Zamacois, tomo 12 p 302

CHAPTER VIII

CRIME, LAW ENFORCEMENT, JUSTICE

> [illegible] evil is in the things [illegible] The excessive profession of business that causes the horrible misery of which our people complain; and the immorality that thanks to the political revolutions has contaminated every social class are the causes of the robberies, quarrels, and murders that are so frequently committed
>
> —Ayuntamiento de México, 1845

Crime

In 1844 the academicians of the Society of Geography and Statistics complacently concluded that one criminal existed for every 528 inhabitants and that one crime occurred daily. They congratulated themselves, for this represented a crime rate thirty times less than that of Paris, a city three times as large as the capital of Mexico.[1] The academicians deluded themselves, for crime plagued the city. Appendix F shows the crimes committed by convicted criminals during 1825, 1842, 1851, and 1852. In 1842 six percent of the entire population, or 8,861 persons, served prison terms

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]olm and not those that weathre [illegible] of goldt Thim im not m policy [illegible]odifference on the part of the [illegible]yuntamiento The Prefecture should lead it not only the physicel but the motel force to punish thm rich onj the poor tugether.[4]

[illegible]bbery notcumted for approximarely one [illegible] [illegible]rted onnually In every year for w[illegible] [illegible]h sex ratio mf mnlm tm fmmnle convicted th[illegible] [illegible]lesor 2 l Thm articles stolsn in Cuertml Mener 17 were of emell velne The mnnt expensive theft wes ther of thirty-six rebezos werth $13 pesec Mnnt stolen articles were werth fer less. Not even m cuttered merape or e stone metate used to grind corn were mnfe Twenty percent of all thm ward e thefts occurred nt werh and were of tools or the clothes of work mates Most of the thufts occurred in the unlocked rnems of the vecindades when the occupents were ibsent mr in the streets when the ettenglon of the victims w[illegible] diertected. The robberies appear te havm been motivected ly the desire tm satisfy ne immediate end basic nsed Usually thm thief quickly pawned the stolen property or bertered it directly for food or drink Thm rich were also the prey mf thieves Tortoise-shell combs went out mf fashion among the upper clece ladies after monnted thieves unhorlled their wearere by galloping through the streets end wrenching them from thmir wearere heede.[5]

most common offense, accounting, for 40 to [illegible] crimes committed annually. Women were particularly prone to this offense. Forty percent of all quarrels were committed by women, and 62 percent of all crimes committed by women were quarrels. In Quartel Honor 17 over half of the fights occurred between married couples, close relatives, or close acquaintances. Sometimes the motives were rational or at least understandable. An argument with husband or wife over household expenses, a dispute over a delinquent loan, or a heavy insult by a close friend would inevitably result in a fist fight. At other times the violence was senseless. An innocent passer-by was waylaid in the streets by a drunken mob of men and women and knocked senseless with iron pipes. Two drunken women engaged in a violent quarrel burst into a carpenter's shop and clashed the well-meaning proprietor as he tried to separate them.

Fighting with weapons usually resulted in murder. Ambassador de la Barca witnessed one true his balcony while taking coffee with his guests.

> These spectacles had for some time observed below some men and women of the lower class talking and apparently amusing themselves, sometimes laughing and other times disputing and giving each other blows. Suddenly one of the number, a man, darted out from amongst the others and tried to escape by clambering over the low wall which supports the arches of the aqueducts. Instantly and quite

coolly another man followed him, drew his knife, and stabbed him in the back. The man fell backward with a groan upon which a woman of the party probably the murderer's wife drew out her knife and gave the wounded man three or four stabs to the heart to finish him the others meanwhile neither speaking nor interfering but looking on with folded arms and their usual placid smiles of indifference.[6]

Every day murdered bodies produced by similar brawls lay spread eagle upon the Alcaldes's grate awaiting identification. The available statistics do not reflect the amount of murder that actually occurred. In 1842, for example, the courts condemned eighty-seven murderers. The police however collected 113 dead bodies from the streets and sent 894 seriously wounded individuals to the hospitals.[7]

The wealthy fell victim to murderous thieves. On the night of March 29, 1830 a servant discovered Juan de Dios Canedos, a respected congressional deputy, brutally stabbed to death in his room. Some whispered that a political vendetta inspired the crime. The murderer turned out to be a former servant who had killed the old man for his watch.[8] Foreigners were frequent targets of deadly assaults. A soldier slew an American Protestant shoemaker for failing to genuflect as the Host passed by. Later, *léperos* despoiled his grave. Thieves murdered the Swiss consul, a wealthy dealer in parchment, for the contents of his strongbox.[9] During the Revolution of 1841 a squad of soldiers robbed a

[illegible] murdered its French owner, and shamed the women of the household [10] Most foreigners accepted the notion that a mixture of greed and religious intolerance motivated the attacks Charles Latrobe who visited Mexico City in 1833 [illegible] reserved the violent anti-foreigniam as an expression of [illegible]-class resentment against the foreign artisan [11]

[illegible] Cuartel Honor 17 crime lacked many marked seasonal [illegible] variations Serious crime waves accompanied every revolutionary or military crisis when the attention of the authorities was diverted [12] During the 1822 occupation of the capital by the Army of the Three Guarantees twelve thousand murders occurred [13] The troops sent to the capital to restore order in the wake of the 1828 Revolution of the Acordada openly robbed and assaulted civilians [14] A great outburst of criminal activity occurred during the North American occupation (September 1847 to June 1848) Zamacois at first blamed the crime on the North American soldiers but, after reading a report by the governor of the District Federal admitted that the crime possessed a deeply rooted indigenous aspect that could not be explained away by revolution or foreign military occupation [15] Crime waves in fact occurred in relatively tranquil periods In 1825 and 1843 the army patrolled the streets and indiscriminate police effort to control the rising tide of crime [16] In December 1845, criminal activity reached such proportions that honest citizens were ready to abandon civilized society to join the better-organized society of the criminals [17]

The government viewed with horror the petition robberies, murders, and strangle that have been committed in the center of the capital--many of them by the first authorities of the Republic.[18] The period's legislation reflected the official dismay.

The Regalia re-decreed colonial legislation banning the carrying of arms.[19] A government circular also ordered all wagons emanating from quarters, their first duty was to the medical and spiritual welfare of the patient. The circular subsequently advised the doctors on methods that would rapidly staunch the flow of blood so that they could rapidly summon both priest and police.[20] Another decree unsuccessfully ordered locks placed in every room and a watchman assigned to every house of the city in order to thwart an epidemic of robberies.[21]

The people appeared superficially indifferent to the crime. Señora de la Barca commented that murders occurred so frequently that the one witnessed by her husband excited little comment from him. Mexicans guessed.[22] In the Plaza de la Constitución thieves robbed and left for dead a man in the presence of numerous witnesses who ignored the entire proceeding. The police located in a post across the square were aware of the crime but did not bother to move to the victim's aid.[23] At the corner of the convent of Santa Catarina and the college of San Idelfonso, thieves attacked

an army officer in front of [illegible] and them moved with impunity to another street [illegible] Nuevo. The reporter of the incident, expressed outrage that the same people who witnessed the crimes passed their [illegible] at their new post and did not make a warning [illegible] On the heavily traveled Paseo Semanal at 5.00 p.m., highwaymen held up several youths one by one in full view of the Paseo's usual promenaders [25]

In 1841 *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, following the precedent set a decade earlier by *Sol* and *Themis* published the names of convicted criminals in an effort to heighten the literate public's awareness of crime [26] The newspaper's efforts were unnecessary for the psychology of the upper classes had already been effected by the sea of crime that engulfed them in the puntadicals, in the waffe[illegible] in the private homes one hears complaints of assaults or fears of being assaulted as if there was not a single authority with the obligation to prevent crime" complained the governor of the Distrito Federal [27] Juan Palacorta's pasquin rebuked him for walking the streets at night unarmed [28] Thornton, however, asserted that although crimes occurred frequently a gentleman might take a nightly stroll without his sword [29] Before leaving their houses to attend Mass or large public processions, the wealthy normally inspected each other to insure that all their valuables remained at home They also maintained large dogs to protect themselves and their property [30] The dogs trained to attack any stranger in a manner themselves because

[illegible]

[illegible] Fine educat ou and a façade of decency who were in reality thieves and robbers.[32] Gentlemen-turned highway robbers periodically augmented the ranks of the elite. One part-time road agent was an ald of General Santa Anna.[33] In the burlies well-armed and mounted gangs led by leaders bizarrely named "The Chicken," "Banana," "Bugler" or "Cream-puff" terrorized the poorer residents. Headquartered at sleazy *pulquerias* they reverted and met with local merchants whose stores served as arsenals and warehouses of stolen goods. The influence of the merchants protected the criminals. The residents of Quartel Mayor 8 refused to join a posse hunting a well known thief, claiming that their efforts would be useless because the thief knew how to use his money and had friendships with many merchants. Residents of the same quartel refused to join another posse because they did not wish to make enemies of the thieves and expose themselves to insult and murder.[34]

There was also ample scope for the ingenuity of the individual criminal. In the 1850s the city was afflicted by the *manchados* (greased ones); men naked and smeared with grease who waylaid people on the streets, rubbed them, and murdered those who resisted. Others, mounted and hiding in dark alley-ways, lassoed likely looking passers-by towed

led

r-e hundred [illegible] peces before his

Despite the presence of the professionals, the sheer immensity of criminal activity is sufficient proof that most of the crime was committed by the poor, upon the poor. Some reasons for lower-class criminality will now be discussed.

Alcoholism was rampant among the general population. Mexican consumption of alcohol surpassed that of France and England.[37] *The Sonorense Artistico* wrote,

> It is the most heartbreaking spectacle and unworthy of humanity to see a father and mother drunk in the middle of the night in their room whose door they cannot open with their trembling hands when one is aware that outside the door there is a small child who cannot give them any help and who is forced to sleep on a cold doorstep. And we will say of that father that the following day and every day after that he will give to his wife and child a bit of scrap and some bread crusts so that he may squander his wages at the wine shop.[38]

[illegible] police official estimated that over six thousand [illegible] could be jailed overnight and fined for drunkenness [illegible] course of the year.[39]

A temperance [illegible] olism was the beginning of a chain [illegible] brutishness, misery vice and crime criminal record s confirm his opinion Over 40 percent of all criminals arrested in 1851 committed offences while intoxicated In Cuartel Menor 17 many criminals stole simply to purchase enough pulque or aguardiente for a good drunk Twenty-five percent of all those arrested for quarreling within the cuartel admitted that they had been intoxicated at the time of the incident

The *pulquerías* were unpopular with the authorities The behavior of its customers offended the public decorum

> Almost naked men thrown across the galleries of the *pulquerías* Habitual revels of drunks who blaspheme and in no way have the behavior or continence of the honest persons that pass by Sency brutal, and filthy women who with disheveled clothes and exaggerated shouts attract the attention of young people of both sexes that pass nearby is a small portrait of what this class of establishment presents.[4]

The *Monitor Constitucional* printed a frequently re- [illegible] plaint when it stated that the *pulquerías* were the [illegible] the major crimes for there is not a fight [illegible] robbery wound or death that could not be traced [illegible] At times the city considered redeeming their sum- [illegible] concentrating the remainder in the center of the [illegible] thing came of these schemes The temperance

[illegible] offered one reason [illegible] though recognizing the merits of [illegible] centralization, he decided that maximum *pulq* [illegible] frequently the center of revolutionary disorders. [illegible] better to let them remain scattered on the [illegible] ty.[44]

Public laws strictly [illegible] *pulquerías* and [illegible] hundreds of small p[illegible] throughout the city. They could be [illegible] story with counters sealed across the doors to prevent the entrance of customers. To further discourage customer access, chairs, tables, and the sale of food were forbidden on the premises. The customers could not play cards or pawn possessions to pay for drinks. The owners were to prevent their customers from relieving themselves in nearby doorways. Since the ayuntamiento first issued their regulations in the late [illegible] period and reissued them in 1825, 1831, and 1845, there is little reason to believe that the public ever observed them.[45]

The government and most educated Mexicans believed that vagrancy was the cause of crime. A full examination of the municipality's efforts to eradicate vagrancy illustrates that unemployment and underemployment were at the heart of illicit and petty theft.

The vagrancy code of the republic was a compilation of laws dating from 1745.[46] Table P 2 lists the twenty one [illegible] of behavior that the code classified as criminal vagrancy

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] confu[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] the *mayralpal sindico* from interfering in any [illegible] decisions of the judges.[54] About 1850 the Tribunal resumed its operations as an appeals board for the decisions of the *alcalde* on *cuartel* (unpaid official of a *cuartel mayor*)

Thousands of suspects paraded before the Tribunal [illegible] patrols commonly collected suspects in mass arrests that netted every killer in the *pulquerías* and the streets. The *Ayuntamiento*'s first effort to enforce the vagrancy code [illegible] three hundred suspects in a single night.[55] Most of [illegible] were released without charge after a few days in jail [illegible] however, arrested only 17 percent of the suspects. The *alcaldes auxiliares* (appointed officials of *cuarteles menores*) arrested the remainder at the request of irritated neighbors, relatives, or wives. Table 34 lists the complaints that most commonly resulted in an arrest for vagrancy. Twenty-nine percent of the suspects were arrested on suspicion of vagrancy, a rubric that included loitering in the streets without [illegible] and irritating one's neighbors; 28 percent were arrested for robbery; and 17 percent for gambling.

Considering the numerous complaints against the vagrants [illegible] *Ayuntamiento*'s determination to expunge them, the [illegible] up facet of the Tribunal's history was that it found [illegible] of suspects guilty. Another 8 percent were released in the custody of employers or parents. These [illegible] natural disobedient adolescents, wayward apprentices,

[illegible] conduct [illegible]
[illegible] vancy
[illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] with [illegible]
[illegible] *auxiliares* to [illegible]
[illegible] evidence. Lacking the time to collect written depositions or track down witnesses, the alcaldes frequently engulfed [illegible] court with only briefly worded declarations. The magistrate made the mandatory legal presumption that the lack of public testimony indicated that the suspect was of good character and released him.[58] The principal reason for the jurisdiction rate, however, was that the magistrates, sincerely desiring to test out vagrancy, scrupulously investigated the suspect's background and found little basis for conviction. Fifty-three percent of the suspects produced witnesses that included friends, employers, and alcaldes *auxiliares* to testify on their behalf. Almost all produced written depositions, apparently genuine, from former employers and *auxiliares*, praising their industry and character. Against this favorable testimony, the judges usually possessed only the brief declaration of the arresting official. Civilian witnesses for the prosecution were present in only 13 percent of the cases.

Wife beaters, drunkards, gamblers, and neighborhood rowdies filled the Tribunal's dockets. Provided that they showed evidence of employment, the Tribunal was reluctant to condemn them to the rigors of military service or colonization

A convicted-peace suspect possessing criminal record, was mutually arrested during a criminal act locked convincing proof of past or present employment, and received detailed and extremely unfavorable testimony from the arresting officer that was corroborated by responsible civilian witnesses.

The following are two examples of the men condemned as vagrants. Juan Guerra appeared before the Tribunal charged with trying to sell a stolen purse and pistol at the Plaza del Volador. He described himself as a weaver who worked as a vendor of blankets when work was scarce in his proper trade. Two witnesses he produced were lackeys who gave the court the impression that they were purveyors of police property. Testifying against Torres was the market administrator and a group of reputable stall holders. On the basis of their testimony the judges condemned Torres. Vicente Guerrero completed a prison term for robbery when the director of the Acordada marched him to the Tribunal. He claimed to be a usual-clothes peddler but could not present proof of employment or a single witness during the two weeks allowed him. After waiting another week the Tribunal condemned Guerrero.[57]

The failure of the Tribunal to condemn a significant number of vagrants indicates that the vagrancy code was limited to the social and economic inferiority of Mexico City. Its colonial originators intended it to forge the labor of Indians and mestizos while the Spanish sector of the economy[58]

TABLE 34
COMPLAINTS AGAINST SUSPECTED VAGRANTS

Complaint	#
Vagrancy	29
Attempted robbery	28
Gambling	16
Drunkenness	4
Quarreling	5
Mistreatment of wife	5
Incontinence	2
Disobedience to parents	2
Unspecified	7

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM, tomos 4151-4158

TABLE 35
UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SUSPECTED VAGRANTS

Occupation	Unemployment Rate Within Occupation	% of Total Unemployed
Construction laborer	21%	6
Carpenter	20	6
Baker	20	3
Weaver	11	4
Wax chandler	20	2
Servant	19	3
Sweet maker (vendor)	70	1
Shoemaker	11	14
Tailor	17	10

Reason Unemployed

Sickness	32%
Scarcity of work	22
Recent arrival	15

General unemployment rate 15%
Artisanal unemployment rate 13%
Unskilled unemployment rate 16%

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM tomos 151-4158

[illegible] 36

[illegible] TH TWO OR MORE OCCUPATIONS

Occupat[illegible]	roup	% Total Requiring Additional Trade
Construction laborers	34	11
Coachmen	7	3
Tailors	[illegible]	8
Weavers	[illegible]	9
Street peddlers	1	12
Shoemakers	[illegible]	11
Servants	56	6

Favorite Additional Occupations

Domestic servi e	13%
Street peddler	8
Shoemaker	7
Weaver	7
Carpenter	7

General Category of Additional Occupations Chosen by Artisans and Unskilled

Artisans	27% Unskilled	73% Artisanal
Unskilled	57 Artisanal	43 Unskilled

General percentage 23%
15% of all suspected artisans
37% of all suspected unskilled

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACM, tomes 4151-4158

[illegible] TO SUPPORT FAMILIES

[illegible]	% Group	% Total
[illegible]rent peddlers	4%	16
[illegible]ther workers	25	3
[illegible]ure	20	3
[illegible]alore	19	11
[illegible]men	18	2
[illegible]smiths	17	2
[illegible]y [illegible]ores	16	3
[illegible]struction laborers	14	7
[illegible]oemakers	12	16
[illegible]overe	8	3

[illegible]neral percentage 15%
[illegible]rm 14%
[illegible]skilled 19%

[illegible] Compiled and computed by the author from AALM [illegible] cor[illegible]
[illegible] = 15%

les supreme irony was that unemployment and underemployment was common in the republicse capital Although the owners of publim workshops constanely complained of the shortage of skilled and dependable workers they were not referring to the unemployed *idyuros* who informed suicide their shops [59] The Tsuhuual sentenced only 24 persons of the vagrants to forced labor and it placed these in the bakeries

The records of the Teihuual give an idea of the extent of unemployment and underemployment among the artisans and unskilled laborers Unemployment is defined simply as the lack of work Fifteen percent of those arrested for vagrancy were employed at the time of arrest Table 35 shows that extremely high rates of unemployment prevailed among construction laborers, bakers wax chandlers carpenters and servants

Underemployment was a far greater problem To concentrate on unemployment underemployment algeifies the lack of economically productive work rather than its exact measure Two indicators of it appeared in the records the inability of a suspect to support his family and the suspect's possession of two or more occupations Recognizing that many both could not support their families and held two or more occupations the two indicators will be analyzed separately to give a more precise view of the problem

Twenty-three percent of all vagrancy suspects supported themselves by two or more trades Table 36 shows

their la[illegible] peddlers [illegible] and unemployed [illegible] multiple [illegible] able 36 also [illegible] and [illegible] ing what the most [illegible] The popularity of the already [illegible] & [illegible] occupations is evidence of extremely limited opportunities for productive employment Fifteen percent of the suspects stated that they were unable to support their families at their present trades Table 37 shows that street merchants, tailors, bakers, and coachmen were the most common occupational groups represented

The men who loitered in the streets or *pulquerías* between odd jobs were the *léperos*, *pepenches* or vagrants of the capital Juan Borquero described how unemployment swiftly drove a man to crime and to alcoholism

> During illnesses or unemployment, the worker quickly exhausts his meager sources of credit He then watches his children starve or die of innumerable diseases Living chronically in hunger the father will resort to robbery and force his wife and daughter to become prostitutes Afterward he will deliver himself to drunkenness to numb his conscience

Alcoholism was inherent in marginal employment Many [illegible] earned barely enough to survive The bitter letter of the shoemaker José Hernández, which is quoted in Chapter

[redacted] these [redacted] Rafiel [redacted] n arde[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [

[redacted] *cargador* [redacted]

[redacted] d[redacted] [redacted] f [redacted] worked it the trade because of unemployment [redacted] the [redacted] regular professales Typical of the part-time cargador was Rafael Avila, a mason who worked as a *cargador* whenever he could find no work at construction[68] Others were orphan boys like Francisco Acuña who carried the goods his customers returned to him for delivery[69] The professional *cargadores* resented the influx of newcomers and street career fights between them and even customers were frequent[70]

The authorities attempted to insure the honesty and orderliness of the *cargaderos* with a series of strict regulations issued in 1851 These required that all *cargadores* be bonded and assigned to a specific zone under the supervision of an appointed foreman No cargador with a criminal record would be licensed, and the commission of a crime by a licensed cargador would result in the forfeiture of his license If the cargador worked for a commercial establishment, he was the legal responsibility of his employer The law forbade adolescents or young men to enter the trade Youngsters employed before the regulations went into effect were to be counted up and apprenticed to a skilled craft Only the aged or infirm were permitted to become *cargadores*[71]

Dishonesty was a serious problem among domestic servants Petty thieves commonly found employment as household staffs[72] Thus Ma La Merced unwittingly employed a chinese

gambli[illegible] r robbery and e[illegible]t
from the housekeeper [73] The circ[illegible]
gave references to servants whom t[illegible] r
dishonesty worsened the problem Pu[illegible] sought
to ensure the honesty of the household[illegible] law of
1834 required all servants to carry [illegible] showing em-
ployment history present employer[illegible] and salary It for-
bade the employment of those lacking passbooks [74] The
Inspectorate of Servants and Domestics, founded in 1844, for-
bade employers under pain of fine to hire servants lacking
its accreditation [75]

The literate public was aware that underemployment
and unemployment were closely connected to crime Gabriel
Terry wrote that because there existed few opportunities
for employment, there was little wonder that part of the
town s classes found life in the Arcadia prison acceptable
[illegible]rom [illegible]heerful because it was a refuge offering food
[illegible]clothes Once of his characters a 18year abandoned a
life of crime when after a year s search he obtained em-
ployment as a carpenter [76] In June of 1848 *Siglo Diez y Nueve*
warned that if the government did not press the unemployed
into the National Guard they would become thieves. [77]

The authorities knew that periods of vagrancy and
crime coincided with economic depression Correspondence
ordering the press gangs to the barrios in 1827 discussed
the need of pressing "all vagrants and those who lacked

craft o[illegible]into milita[illegible] The [illegible] the Distr[illegible]al smugly justi[illegible]mpressme[illegible] employe[illegible]f 'purrin[illegible]ultitud[illegible] with t[illegible]" for who were [illegible]nly ro[illegible] useful w[illegible]g them from the pulp[illegible] "pernicious places" that they inhabited [illegible] In [illegible] 1829 he complained to the ayuntamiento that

> the city is full of vagrants either because the Tribunal has failed to act in the past months or because the circumstances have placed many persons without having objects to consecrate their labor [illegible]

The intent of the Tribunal de Vagos was to spare [illegible] for whether employed or unemployed, from impressment [illegible] ding the city of vagrants. The magistrates kept [illegible] t its goal; sparing the unemployed or partially employ[illegible] t[illegible]ontaining the truly idle. The seemingly contradictor[illegible] structure exists, however, that while all were aware that unemployment and underemployment were the roots of vagrancy and crime, all held that vagrancy defined as a personal, moral vice caused crime. Regidor Manuel de la Cadena, who personally led antivagrancy patrols, clearly stated the ambivalent position in a report to the government of the District Federal after making his first patrol. No one who had ever lived in the barrios of Santa Ana and El Carmen, wrote the

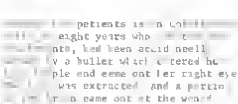
[illegible] vagrants [illegible] separation [illegible] the artisans [illegible] tures with which to occupy themselves and sometimes [illegible] The register did not wish to persecute [illegible] silversmiths who when arrested claimed truthfully that they did not work because they had nothing with which to occupy themselves [illegible] He requested guidance from [illegible] authority that would resolve the 'inexplicable [illegible]'[1]

The government's response to the reports of register Quintana and other officials was to ignore them and demand that they supply a steady stream of suspects to the Tribunal de Vagos.[2] The *auxiliares* complied ingeniously by arresting innocent strangers. The Tribunal always released men arrested in such a fashion for lack of evidence.[3]

It is puzzling but understandable that nineteenth century Mexicans believed in the existence of a large class of criminal vagrants while knowing that unemployment and underemployment resulted in vagrancy and crime. Their faith was similar to that of modern North Americans asserting that freeloaders clutter the welfare rolls. Both beliefs could not sustain close examination. The government of the District Federal, solely concerned with the fight against crime and the procurement of soldiers, was so far removed from daily contact with the poor that it could delude itself with the myth of vagrancy. The magistrates of the Tribunal de Vagos

and the one who enforced the laws were l[illegible] daily contact with the poor brought them [illegible] the vagrants true identity Although the [illegible] to the myth they refused to convict the un[illegible] employed

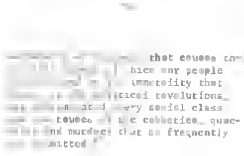
The universal violence of lower-class behav[illegible] phenomenon for which modern social scientists have fail[illegible] provide a definitive explanation It is reasonable to [illegible] pect, however, that physical and psychological frustra[illegible] resulting from crowding economic deprivation hunger and pain played the same role in motivating the violence of n[illegible] nineteenth century Mexican horrie as it does in the slums of twentieth-century cities The violence of the poor also fell into the pattern of society The upper classes dueli[illegible] among themselves to avenge personal insults and resorted to violent revolution to settle political disagreements The consensus of contemporary opinion was that the revolutions were the height of irresponsible violence The July 1840 cannonade between the Palacio Nacional and the Ciudadela slew nearly two hundred innocent civilians Not all fell victim to wayward cannon balls Soldiers of both factions stationed in the towers of the churches and monuments massed themselves by sniping at pedestrians searching the streets for provisions [23] Many of the wounded were horribly maimed The following is a description of one victim unlucky enough to survive



patients is a boy
eight years who
ate, had been acid spell
v a bullet which entered he
ple and came out her right eye
was extracted and a portio
r n came out at the wound
er nearly co having lost
glimmering of light They a
probably live, which seems
Jo She looks like a selven y
yet must have been e
hild [84]

of nature surpassed that of so
r ribs, cholera as an observing disease
toms are revolting [85] He who witnessed the
ing out of fifty eight hundred lives during the three
weeks of August 1833 would hardly view the casualties of
the 1840 pronunciamiento or the "murderous brawls of the
half-breeds' as a perversion of the natural order of the
universe

The *equntamiento* most succinctly stated the relationship between lower-class criminality and the pattern of the entire society when it responded to accusations that its [illegible] and indifference were responsible for the October 1845 crime wave After listing the obstacles that faced law enforcement and the hypocrisy of penalizing the poor for gambling or keeping their children from school, the municipal síndicos concluded that the true causes of 'the evil is in the things In the



that causes co-
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mmunist every social class
rowds, the cobbetles, quac-
nd murders that so frequently
mitted

Law Enforcement

policing of Mexico City was notoriously ineffi-
ent. Although the first decades of the independence period
w themsed numerous proposals for the establishment of a large
professional police force, it was not established until 1879.[67]
Until that time the police force consisted of some twenty-
five *celadores* (municipal policemen) and a few dozen market
guards armed with muskets.[68] This force was effective in the
areas that it patrolled but was too small to police the
entire city. Security duties were supposed to be shared
with the 350-strong, paramilitary public security corps under
the command of the government of the District Federal, but
that force was unresponsive and frequently in conflict with
municipal authorities. The *ayuntamiento* often complained that
its existence hindered rather than helped effective law en-
forcement.[69]

Lacking an efficient professional police force, the
full brunt of law enforcement and civic administration fell
upon the unpaid alcalde. The *ayuntamiento* appointed two

[illegible] additional *ayudantes* [illegible] *calde*. The [illegible] country civil servants was demanding. They [illegible]

> [illegible] and neighbors of their respective [illegible]les who, without intruding [illegible] themselves into the houses or business, [illegible] order, will attempt to avoid to conciliate [illegible] and to pacify domestic quarrels and to quell other disorders so that they will not become scandals [illegible]

Their duties included registering new residents, conducting [illegible] census, serving as truent officers, organizing the fi[illegible] [illegible]ght, and making the nightly patrol of the neighbor[illegible]oods.[illegible] The *ayudantes* were to accompany the alcalde during the patrol and to otherwise be of assistance.

The *alcalde auxiliar* and his *ayudante* failed in their mission. One reason for the failure was their poverty which prevented the performance of duties. Surviving lists of *alcaldes auxiliares* show that they were artisans, but do not reveal whether they were masters or journeymen. *Ayudantes* were mostly artisans, probably journeymen, but included among their numbers were a few marginal merchants. Whether [illegible] journeymen or marginal merchant, all were described as needy artisans having no more resources than their meager personal work.[93] The fulfillment of census taking,

[illegible] time-consuming duties deprived them of the [illegible] for themselves or their families [93] Upon [illegible] f en impending census, the *auxiliar* and his s[illegible] usually threatened to resign Only threats of [illegible] imprisonment compelled them to fulfill their [illegible] [94] Their reluctance goes a long way to explain h[illegible] of the censuses The 'Rama de Auxiliares' in [illegible] del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México is l[illegible]terally crammed with resignations for reasons of financial hardship Because of poverty many of the poorer wards lacked the officials [95]

These *auxiliares* who remained at their posts were likely to be tyrannical The conservative newspaper *Sol* accused them of ruling in a 'Sultanic style' with travel [illegible]xpress of sending men to jail on the basis of gossip or private grudge and of illegally condemning poor men to [illegible]ry and unpaid servitude in local bakeries [96] The *auxiliares* continued *Sol* had converted themselves from the fathers of the poor" into stepfathers." A decree of the governor general of the Distrito Federal confirmed the complaints It praised the behavior of most *auxiliares*, admitting that abuses of authority existed and reminded them that arrested men must be arraigned before a judge within eight hours of arrest [97]

Because of their poverty *auxiliares* often combined corruption with tyranny Pablo Reyes, while administering

Quartal Meeat 2… allegedly aup[illegible] in [illegible] illegal fiesa… accepting bribe[illegible] local matchmeta…[9e] Another s[illegible] league with common criminals to [illegible][11]

Tu 1832 m damaging series of [illegible] appear[illegible] *Toro* which was highly critical [illegible] the capital mf[illegible]s The reporter specifically accused Ignacio Torres of arbitrarily arresting the poor and receiving a share of the bribes resulting from subsequent litigation[1a6]

The other agencies of public authority did not cooperate with the *auxiliares* or their aides Like all civilian inhabitants of Mexico City they were forbidden to carry firearms, save when on patrol "How is it possible" asked the *ayuntamiento*, "that a patrol composed of a regidor an *auxiliar*, and two or three *ayudantes* and some other persons poorly armed with swords… can suppose any respect on evildoers that always carry firearms?[1] When *auxiliares* dared to carry firearms to defend themselves the courts punished them with 'barbaric rigor'[103]

The *auxiliares* were forever complaining that the courts failed to support them[102] It was frustrating, claimed one… to arrest dangerous criminals only to have them released the next day to jeer at the same patrol that arrested them the night before[103] Their allegations were partly the result of the climate conflict between those who must enforce the law and those who must dispense justice and have a

[illegible] quirk [illegible] courts in contrast, [illegible] observed [illegible] letter of Mexican law. Judges allowed the accused to defend himself in the presence of the arresting officials, a procedure that the *auxiliares* thought degrading.[104] More importantly, the judges rejected on the legal requirement that all evidence against the accused be presented within three days.[105] This was an impossibility for the unpaid *auxiliares*. When the evidence was submitted promptly it frequently was not in the lengthy and complex form required by Mexican courts.[106] The failure to follow evidentiary regulations led to the frequent release of suspects and was the basis for the oft repeated complaint that the courts failed to prosecute criminals.[107] The courts, in turn, were apt to view *auxiliares* and eyewitnesses as persons of little education and little ability and tended to treat them like errand boys.[108]

The *auxiliares* quarreled bitterly with the military. The soldiers, whether members of the city's garrison or the [illegible] militia that sometimes existed, demonstrated their military fuero (right) by refusing to cooperate with, and often publicly resisting or humiliating, the civilian officials. The following two examples illustrate their contempt: in 1827 soldiers arbitrarily arrested an *auxiliar*

[illegible] announcement of conviction rolls made them [illegible] prisoner's filthy person. In 1828 a colonel of the civil militia publicly insulted and manhandled an *auxiliar* for refusing to release suspected vagrants.[109] In other incidents military guilty of crimes successfully defied the efforts of the civilians to arrest them or to bring them to trial. Military disrespect for the officials led the municipality to lodge official complaints in 1828, 1830, and 1845. That of 1845 stated that there could be little respect for civilian authority when the military was free from civil jurisdiction, treated civilian institutions with contempt, and openly resisted civilian authority.[110]

A more profound reason for the failure of civilian authority was that lacking any material force or power, it had to rely upon the cooperation of the populace both rich and poor for support. Cooperation was impossible when the public viewed civil regulations at best as a nuisance and at worst as a system of repressive rules imposed by an alien authority. The fate of alcalde *auxiliar* Jose Álvarez illustrates the frustrations of a dedicated man fighting the public apathy. Álvarez, a schoolteacher, zealously fulfilled his mandate to be father of the people enforcing sanitary regulations, arbitrating domestic quarrels, and leading the nightly patrol. The *auxiliar's* efforts received the praise of a regidor of the *ayuntamiento*, the former *auxiliar*

[redacted] to the appeal to [redacted] complain[redacted] and trumped-up [redacted] that the [redacted] illegal fines [redacted] compelled his neighbors t[redacted] them, shunned them [redacted], and permitted the [redacted] next to his residence. An investigation [redacted] matter of the brothel's calumny and graver [redacted] stemming from the neighborhood [redacted] forcibly entered the municipal sumister [redacted] [1]

Popular hatred of the [redacted] especially by the *coyalacho* was intense. One lieutenant of the civil militia refused to serve as an *auxiliar* on the grounds that acceptance of the position "would bring grave disrespect and dishonor to the concept of service in the civil militia." After the publication of the *Tecpo* article, an *auxiliar* resigned claiming that he had just opened a small store and that the public resentment generated by the articles jeopardized his chances for success. [115]

Public hatred created its own obstacles for law enforcement and civil administration. Volunteers for *auxiliar* or *mundonte* were few, and those compelled to serve faced the dilemma of forcing their neighbors upon whom they depended for a livelihood to accept unpopular laws. [114] Luis de Belleau humorously captured the innate conflict of interest when he

described a patrol as "publicans who lodge criminals during the day and let them off to pursue them at night."[115] Many resolved their problem by lax law enforcement. The *auxiliar's* habit of arresting strangers has already been cited. In 1828 regidor Cadenas explained sympathetically to the governor of the Distrito Federal that the principal obstacle that prevented him from enforcing the Republic's strict vagrancy laws was

> of my three *auxiliares* one owns a café and another a wine shop. One cannot expect that they would denounce those that contribute to their subsistence.[116]

Justice

The criminal or civil courts of the Distrito Federal heard murders, serious robberies, and important litigation.[117] The Criminal de Vagos's purview was limited to vagrancy cases. Its proceedings were chaired by members of the *ayuntamiento* sitting in rotation.[118] Courts of conciliation handled the advanced phases of civil litigation. Prior to 1846 the principal courts with which the poor dealt were the *juzgados de primera instancia* that existed in all *cuarteles menores*. The courts handled the primary stages of civil litigation and the petty robberies, brawls, disturbances of the peace that

were the scene of lower-class crime.[119] They also settled litigations involving small sums of money. A *juez de letras* whom the *ayuntamiento* appointed from the ranks of master artisans and shopkeepers, presided over the court.

Critics frequently accused the untrained judge of rendering illegal or quasi-legal verdicts.[120] The evidence does not bear out this charge. Until the first civil code was introduced in 1870, Mexican law was archaic Spanish law dating from the late Middle Ages and codified in *La nueva recopilación*.[121] Interpreting the law to suit the conditions of the nineteenth century left a judge ample scope for improvisation—probably more scope than a North American judge would presume while trying a case according to common law. The complaints of the *alcaldes mayores* and ex-examinations of the decisions made in Guerrero Mayor 17's *juzgado de primera instancia* reveal that in criminal cases the judges made their decisions scrupulously observing the legal rights of the accused.

Charges of corruption, particularly regarding civil cases, were common. "A good law suit," friends told Tylee, "must be carefully prepared by heeding the *jues de letras* whose reports serve as the basis of all subsequent litigation."[122] The corruption of the lower courts stemmed from the impoverishment of the judges and their clerks. In 1847 a judge complained that he and his clerks had not been paid for a month and warned that 'impartial justice' would not come

[redacted] people. Although the documents do not reveal judges involved in bribery, their clerks regularly disguised bribes as legal fees. For example, when Vicente Cruz was arrested for vagrancy, the Tribunal's clerk asked him for a bribe of $15 to prepare the proper reports. Having earlier ordered his nephew's release by bribing a municipal clerk, Cruz's uncle indignantly refused to pay. In fairness to [redacted] justice it must be added that after confirming the allegation of bribery, the Tribunal de Vagos dismissed the case against Cruz.[123]

The requirement to be represented by two *hombres buenos* (character witnesses) provided further opportunities for corruption. The *hombres buenos* working in league with the legal clerks, extorted money from the poor by falsely representing themselves as lawyers or implying that their services were necessary to obtain a favorable decision. When not employed as *hombres buenos*, the rascals worked as *tinterillos* (false witnesses) whose testimony could be purchased for the appropriate fee. Their existence mocked and perverted Mexican justice.[124] Many times the *tinterillo* did not appear in court, abandoning the defendant to his just deserts. The government considered the *hombres buenos* and the *tinterillos* as vicious that it defined the practice of the professions as vagrancy.[125] The expenses engendered by the corruption of the Mexican courts gave rise to the expression that "a good compromise is better than a good lawsuit."[126]

[redacted] charged b[redacted] [redacted] legal docum[redacted] [redacted] expense discouraged the poor from suing [redacted] 1850 reformers proposed a modal fee schedule [redacted] suing fees varying from $1 to $4 It is unknown whether [redacted] municipality ever adopted the schedule, but since any litigation required several documents, its fees would still have been a considerable expense for the poor [128]

After 1846 each *cuartel menor* elected an unpaid justice of the peace in order to free the *juzgados de primera instancia* for more serious cases and to provide inexpensive justice to the poor The justices heard petty criminal and civil cases and imposed light fines and short jail sentences The judge could use the fines that he levied for awards in civil litigation Defendants arraigned before the justices remained at liberty and did not require the services of *hombres buenos* [129]

The new system of judgeships was impossible to implement Because of the complete disorganization of the city during the war with the United States, the municipality could not appoint a justice in every minor ward and the service's petty criminal cases went unheard Later amendments limited the appointment of the justices to the eight *cuarteles mayores* [130] Soon complaints circulated that the *cuartelos* [redacted] justices charged excessive fees and were accessible [redacted] to the rich [131]

[illegible] to [illegible]ement and [illegible] [illegible]tra-
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] filed him ca[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[redacted] week to [redacted][141] The [redacted] orth and do [redacted] ould drag an [redacted] [redacted] to appeal e guilty [redacted] wever the city was indignant when two [redacted] th su[redacted] were mistakenly arrested and held in jail for two weeks awaiting trial[141] Normally the trials of vagrancy suspects occurred within two weeks of their arrest

Penalties were not harsh The higher courts were extremely reluctant to impose the death penalty Charles Latrobe reported in 1834 that only the insistence of the British embassador had pressured the government to execute the murderer of the Swiss consul[142] At times regimes resorted to atypical severity to dramatize their determination to stamp out crime During 1842 the government of General Benito Anne arrested seventy highwaymen and displayed their ghastly, white-robed bodies on the Paseo de Bucarelli[143] The murderer of Juan de Dios Candelo was hung from the balcony of his victim's hotel room in the presence of his accomplice and an immense crowd[144] Petty robberies were punished by fines or imprisonment If the complainant permitted, the defendant avoided jail by repaying the value of the stolen property in cash or labor Most jail sentences for robbery rarely exceeded one month The courts dealt more severely with those who fought with weapons Sentences for this crime were normally a fine and three months imprisonment

[illegible] [illegible] heavily [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (1945), p. 53

[illegible] 140-41

[illegible], *El gabinete* [illegible] p. 180

[illegible], 100

[illegible] 1979), 'Carta de 1 o nero 1845', t [illegible]
exp. 32

[illegible]ett, p. 130. Zamacois, tomo 11, pp. 1[illegible]

[4]AACH, tomo 3688, exp. 32

[5]Zamacois, tomo 13, pp. 209-214

[6]AACH, tomo 3688, exp. 15. Mmle[illegible], tomo 1, p. [illegible]

[7]AACH, tomo 3690, exp. 66, pp. 1-6

[8]AACM, tomo 383, exp. 110

[9]"Parte oficial," *Sol*, 6 septiembre 1841, p. 1

[10]Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Manual*, p. 101

[11]"Parte oficial," p. 2

[12]Calderón de la Barca, p. 170

[13]Tylor, p. 170

[14]Rebe, *Siglo diez y Nueve*, 28 noviembre 1841, p. 3

[15]Zamacois, tomo 13, pp. 447-48.

[16]"Crímenes," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 9 noviembre 1841,
[illegible]

[17]AACH, tomo 393, exp. 110

[18]Feinsett, p. 130

[19]Thompson, p. 53

[20]Tylor, pp. 52-53, 150

[21]Remifrán, *Siglo diez y Nueve*, 26 noviembre 1841
p. [illegible]

[22]*Ibid*

[23]Thompson, p. 23. Calderón de la Barca, pp. 153-54

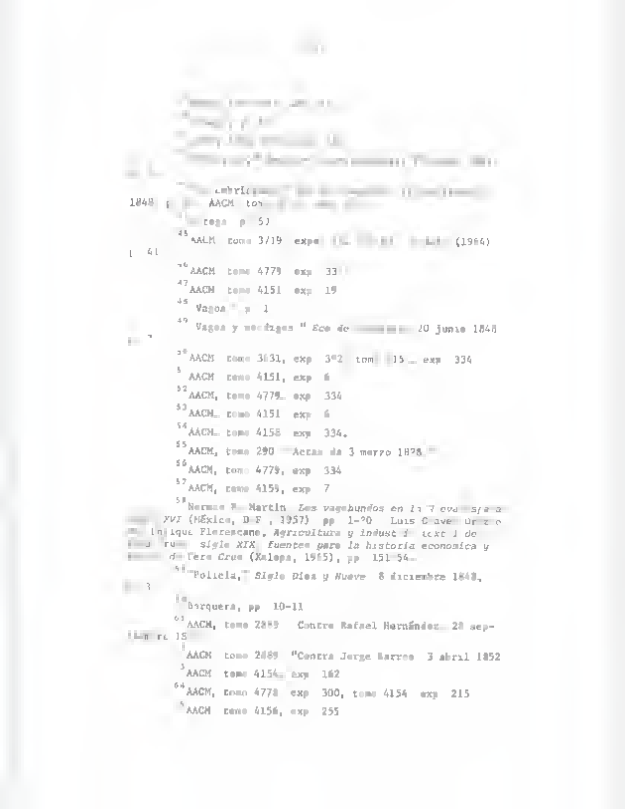
[24]AACM, tomo 3690, exp. 66, rollo 3691, exp. 107

[25]Parry, p. 17

[26]AACM, tomo 3690, exp. 66

[27]Francisco Ortega, *Memoria sobre los medios de des-*
[illegible]ja sabriguez (México, D.F., 1847)

[28]"La sabriguez," p. 2



1848 [illegible] AACM tomo [illegible]

[illegible] rega p 51

[illegible] AACM tomo 3/19 expe [illegible] (1964)

[illegible] 41

[illegible] AACM tomo 4779 exp 33

[illegible] AACM tomo 4151 exp 19

[illegible] Vagos p 1

[illegible] Vagos y mendigos " Eco de [illegible] 20 junio 1848

[illegible]

[illegible] AACM tomo 3031, exp 3º2 tom [illegible] 15 exp 334

[illegible] AACM tomo 4151, exp 6

[illegible] AACM, tomo 4779 exp 334

[illegible] AACM tomo 4151 exp 6

[illegible] AACM tomo 4158 exp 334.

[illegible] AACM, tomo 290 Actas de 3 marzo 1828.

[illegible] AACM, tomo 4779, exp 334

[illegible] AACM, tomo 4159, exp 7

[illegible] Norma B. Martin *Los vagabundos en la Nueva España siglo XVI* (México, D.F., 1957) pp 1-90 Luis Chávez Orozco Enrique Florescano, *Agricultura y industria* text I de [illegible] *siglo XIX fuentes para la historia economica y* [illegible] Tere Cruz (Xalapa, 1965), pp 151-54.

[illegible] "Policía," *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 8 diciembre 1848.

[illegible] 3

[illegible] Barquera, pp 10-11

[illegible] AACM, tomo 2889 Contra Rafael Hernández 28 sep- [illegible] re 15

[illegible] AACM tomo 2889 "Contra Jorge Barros 3 abril 1852

[illegible] AACM tomo 4154 exp 182

[illegible] AACM, tomo 4778 exp 300, tomo 4154 exp 215

[illegible] AACM tomo 4156, exp 255

[66] AACM tomo 47 8 exp 300

[67] AACM, tomo 4131, exp 6 All peddlers, no matter what their income, referred to themselves as "merchants" or 'brokers'

[68] AACM, tomo 4131, exp. 20.

[69] AACM tomo 4156, exp. 236.

[70] AACM, tomo 2156 exp 20 tomo 4156 exp 175

[71] Dublan and Lozano tomo 4

[72] AACM, tomo 3690, exp 73

[73] Calderón de la Barca pp 255-56

[74] AACM, tomo 4151 exp 6

[75] AACM, tomo 3690 exp 73

[76] Ferry, tomo 1. pp 65. 83.

[77] Feliciz, *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 17 junio 1848 p. 1.

[78] AACM tomo 4151, exp. 4

[79] AACM, tomo 229, Acras de 14 febrero 1829

[80] AACM, tomo 4151, expe 1-6

[81] AACM, tomo 4151, exp 19

[82] AACM tomo 4779 exp 334

[83] "Informe *Cosmopolita*, 15 julio 1849

[84] Calderón de la Barca, p 330

[85] Charles E Rosenberg. "The Cholera Epidemic of 1832 in New York City," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 1959, p 137.

[86] AACM, tomo 3690 exp 66

[87] "Barrios," 9 enero 1903, p 1. The "Ramo de Policia" in the AACM contains proposals to establish a large, trained municipal police force during the years 1826 1841 1845 and 1848 During 1848 no less than three separate proposals were made

[88] AACM, tomo 3423 exp 39, tomo 3690, exp 66

[89] Ibid

[90] Rodríguez de San Miguel. *Manuel*, pp 102-106.

[91] AACM, tomo 392, exp 82

[92] AACM tomo 389, exp 12, tomo 392, exp 115

[93] AACM tomo 2020 expe 40 87

[illegible] exps [illegible]

AACM [illegible]o 020, exps 37

[96]"Auxiliares" *Sol* 6 junio 1830 p 4 *Ibid* 24 [illegible] 1830 p 4

[97]Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Manual*, pp 102-106

[98]"Auxiliares," p 4

[99]AACM tomo 393 exp 107

[100]"Auxiliares," *Fare*, 17 julio 1834 pp 178-79

[101]AACM tomo 3690, exp 66, p 3

[102]*Ibid*

[103]AACM tomo 3689, exp 32

[104]AACM tomo 392, exp 70

[105]AACM tomo 4151, exp 1 tomo 390 exp 24, tomo 3690, exp 66

[106]AACM, tomo 291 "Acuerdo de 2 febrero 1829", tomo 392 exp 70

[107]AACM, tomo 2478, exp 14

[108]*Ibid*

[109]AACM, tomo 390 exps 19, 21 tomo 392, exp 70

[110]AACM, tomo 390, exps 23, 25 tomo 3690, exp 66

[111]AACM, tomo 391, exp 34

[112]AACM, tomo 390, exp 25

[113]AACM, tomo 390, exps 20, 30

[114]AACM, tomo 390 exps 20, 25, tomo 392, exp 70 [illegible]mo 020 exp 40

[115]Terry, tomo 1, pp 39-41

[116]AACM, tomo 4151, exp 5

[117]Almonte Galvan Rivera, *1842*.

[118]AACM, tomo 4151, exp 6.

[119]Escriche, Juzgados

[120]AACM, tomo 147, Acuerdo de 20 junio 1829 Juegos de letras," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 29 octubre 1841, p 2

[121]Rodríguez de San Miguel, *Pandectas*

[122]Tyler, p 248

[123]AACM, tomo 2478, exp 12 tomo 4179, exp 47

[111] AACM tomo 2478 [illegible]

[5] "Remitido" *Siglo* [illegible]

AACM tomo 2578, exp 1

[18] Tyler, p 248

[111] "Remitido," *Siglo Diez* [illegible]

[25] AACM tomo 2479 exp 18

[26] AACM tomo 2748, exp 11

[16] *Ibid*

[11] Remitido, *Siglo Diez y* [illegible] 21 septiembre 1848

[3] AACM, tomo 2749 exp 14

[133] Remitido *Siglo Diez y Nueve* 8 septiembre 1848,

[134] AACM tomo 2478, expo 14, 15, tomo 2749, exp 18

[135] *Ibid*

[136] Remitido," *Universal* 21 agosto 1850 p 1

[137] AACM tomo 4163 expo 462-84

[138] AACM, tomos 2889-90

[39] AACM tomo 2478 exp 12

[41] *Ibid*

[4] AACM tomo 4158, exp 332b

[142] Lattrobe, p 110

[143] Mayer, p 32

[144] Garcia Cubas (1945), p 337

[145] Otero *Obras* tomo 2, p 701

POVERTY AND POLITICS

> "Finally they were a new people
> ... dawn shone with liberty and al
> ...truments Today they are a
> ...o have been deceived a tho...
> ...ave and who fear the revolu
> ...cause of the press gangs be
> ...t[h]e taxes and because of
> ...sions
>
> —Josa María Lafragua 1953

The ... pir of the dissertation ex...mined t... ...illion ...luviot of th... poor Since the nature of nineteenth ...xican politics baffles the experts, the following ...mplistic explanation of political factions is in order The Mexican political spectrum was divided into two basic groups The first, calling itself Conservador Centralists and then Monarchists, favored a centralized state, the existence of a large standing army, and the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church's privileged semi-independent status The second group known as the Federalistas or Liberales ...ored a federated state the replacement of the professional ...y by a volunteer civic militia and the disestablishment ...t... Church

[redacted] h tween th[redacted] J [redacted]ro (Moder[redacted]erals is the most well [redacted] xample The Furse [redacted]ed o Valentín Gómez Farías de- rred the immediate implementation of anticlerical measures Their most controversial goal was the expropriation of Church property The Moderados included among their members General Mariano Salas, José María Lafragua, Mariano Otero, and Guillermo Prieto They favored a gradual approach to reforms and were totally opposed to expropriation In February of 1847 the Moderados joined with anticlerical forces in the Revolution of the Polkos to overthrow Vice-President Gómez Farías

Centralists and Liberals distrusted mass political participation The refusal of the Church to seriously exploit its powerful influence in the barrios illustrates the tendency to ignore the poor when other sources of support were available The religious devotion of the poor held immense political potential Many accused the Church of so thoroughly indoctrinating the masses that they could not distinguish between a sin and a civil crime When they committed a crime they regarded it as a sin to be forgiven after contrition and penance The influence of the clergy entered into politics because the people considered it the final authority on the laws of man and God [1] The Church hesitated

[illegible] epidemic approached central [illegible], the Bishop of Puebla and the Ecclesiastical Cabildo of Mexico City circulated pamphlets warning that cholera was God's punishment for public sins.[2] The surviving sessions of the *ayuntamiento* however do not mention subversive preaching in the barrios.[3] Considering the primitive theology of the poor and the ravages of the disease among them, it is unlikely that subversive preaching was necessary to convince them that "God's whip" was scourging [illegible].[4]

The Church took stronger action in January 1847 when Gómez Farías waived its property to finance the war against the United States. On January 14, the day after the publication of the confiscatory proclamation, all the churches of the central mysteriously closed their doors.[5] Knowing that the closures were intended to terrorize the people, the *ayuntamiento* swiftly ordered their reopening, but could find no cleric with the authority to reopen them.[6] During the next three days, priests preached subversion in the Segrario where mobs roamed the streets harangning crowds and distributing [illegible] anti-government tracts.[7] Riots occurred on the sixteenth, but lacking coordination and leadership they posed no serious threat to the government.[8] Regidores patrolling the streets quickly restored order.[9] By the seventeenth of January most

of the churches had reopened. The Catholic hierarchy [illegible] lamely defended the clergy in the ayuntamiento by claiming that it feared progovernment mobs.[10]

The Church had good reasons not to trust the masses. Over a century of Bourbon authoritarianism had ingrained the habit of formal obedience to secular authority. The government in 1847 referenced colonial legalisms when it demanded the churches respect.[11] Also, as the largest holder of real estate and valuable art, the Church was reluctant to inspire rioting that might degenerate into an orgy of looting and destruction. The most important reason, however, was that it had far more powerful constituents than the masses to appeal to when it needed to change a government. There was hardly any consequential Mexican family, liberal or centralist, that lacked a clergyman for a blame relative but refuge within it can only be conjectured. The treasuries of the Church were discreetly used to help powerful conspirators. The churches, monasteries, and convents were at the disposal of the wealthy notables who signed the metafederalist Plan de Cuernavaca (June 1834) that petitioned General Santa Anna to abolish the First Federal Republic.[12] In February 1847 the Church made secret contributions to the National Guard units that drove Gómez Farías from office.[13] The administrators of convents, themselves guardsmen, actively subverted the regiments.[14]

[illegible] weak republican authorit[illegible]pital was a po[illegible] weather vane. Regional politicians wishing to make a successful alliance observed its election returns carefully. Its prestige made elections to its offices essential to the career of a rising deputy or senator.[15] Benito Juárez, after serving as governor of the state of Oaxaca, feued it advantageous to run in the capital's primary elections.[16] Control of the *ayuntamiento* was a necessity for conspirators who used its funds and administrative machinery to overturn a government. This was so in 1828, 1844, and a reasonable if unproven suspicion of the national government in 1849.[17]

Mexico City's leaders gained office through a system of indirect elections. The electoral law of 1830 provided for three elections. In the first election voters selected primary electors who later chose the *ayuntamiento* and the representatives to the national legislature. The national legislature elected the president of the Republic.[18] The law of 1836, which was repealed in the conservative *Bases orgánicas* of 1842, created an additional election to pick secondary electors to choose the *ayuntamiento* and the national legislature.[19] Democratic regimes favored the law of 1830; were conservative governments, the law of 1836. Both laws were typical of those of early nineteenth-century Europe. Their function was to insure that politicians did not gain office by pandering to the whims of the poor and uneducated

[illegible] gave [illegible] smaller [illegible] power grossly disproportionate to their size. The *ayuntamiento* accentuated the inequity in 1824 by allowing each parish one elector for every two thousand inhabitants. By 1828 the parishes could select one elector for every five hundred inhabitants. The law of 1830 made the *manzana* the official electoral district and granted one elector to each one.[20] Although the total number of electors approximated that of 1828, the law gave disproportionate power to the smaller *manzanas* of the Texas. The intent of the law, however, was not to disenfranchise the larger *manzanas* of the hacienda but to completely accentuate the electorate.

The poor seldom became candidates for political office. The 1830 law, which codified the requirements of the 1824-1828 period, specified that an elector be twenty-five years old, in full possession of his civil rights, and a resident of his *manzana* for at least one year. Since the law made no further qualifications for deputy, any elector could be run for Congress. Few of the poor took advantage of the opportunity to run for political offices. Instead they voted for society's traditional elite: lawyers, men of letters, and military officers.[21] Seventy-five of 132 electors were officers, 35 were professionals, 3 were priests, 4 were merchants, and 3 were artisans in 1827. One of the artisans was the wealthy and respected Lucas Balderas, the other jealously referred to himself as "El Rabanero."[22]

Later laws used income restrictions to ensure that only the wealthy obtained office. The 1836 law specified a minimum income of $100 for primary elector, $500 for a member of the ayuntamiento, and $1,500 for a deputy. The law of 1842 specified a minimum income of $200 for a primary elector, $500 for a secondary elector, and $1,200 for a deputy.[23]

Any male Mexican, eighteen years of age if married, twenty-five if single, solvent, and in full possession of his civil rights could vote in the constitutional convention of 1823, 1842, and 1848.[24] The law of 1830 repeated these liberal requirements for participation in the primary elections, provided that an individual was resident in his manzana for at least one year.[25] Table 3B shows the surprisingly large number of people who voted in elections held between 1824 and 1831. The largest number--27,444--voted in 1827, a year in which a Spanish invasion scare and political polemics stirred popular passions. Although only 12,427 voted in 1831, this number was 33 percent of the 38,336 eligible voters. However, in all the elections over half of the eligible electorate did not bother to cast ballots. The

TABLE 3B
VOTER PARTICIPATION, PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Year	Voters
1823	2,073
1826	11,465[a]
1827	27,449
1829	25,238
1831	12,427

SOURCES: AAGM, tomo 862, exps. 8, 12, 15. José Maxía Tornel y Mendivil, *Breve reseña histórica* (Mexico, D.F., 1852), p. 83. "Nombramientos," *Aguila Mexicana*, 10 diciembre 1827, p. 4.

[a]Number indicates those who voted for Yorkino candidates only.

[illegible] of [illegible] gained an [illegible] maximum of $1 [illegible] *arrabiones* raised the required minimum income to $200. The number of people who voted during the period the laws were enforced dropped drastically. The number of eligible voters in 1843 was 15,392, or 40 percent of those eligible in 1831.[28]

In the months prior to an election, commissioners appointed by the *ayuntamiento* registered eligible voters in each *manzana*. Election day morning the commissioners met with the registered voters to form an electoral junta that supervised the elections. Each voter paraded in front of the junta, presented his ticket of registration, and announced his vote in a "clear, loud voice" before his neighbors. The latter provision assured, theoretically, that an unscrupulous junta would not hoodwink illiterates.[29]

Voting was pointless because no political faction permitted honest elections. The power to appoint election commissioners gave an incumbent *ayuntamiento* unlimited scope to rig elections. During the election of 1843, a commissioner distributed only nine registration tickets to the residents of a heavily populated *manzana*.[30] Illegally restricting the size of the electorate was a crude tool when the control of the electoral junta assured victory. During Velasco's 1849

[illegible] challenge the [illegible] of [illegible] allowed them to vote more than once and [illegible] happened to be passing through the neighborhood to vote for liberal candidates. It was undisputed that the ballots must not exceed the number of eligible voters. Comtrel Mayor A's junta allowed only voters who complied by the commissioners to vote. The secretary nonchalantly added voters to the support of friendly candidates and badgered other voters into changing their minds. When a monarchist electer triumphed, the secretary disqualified him and finagled the election of a Liberal.[31]

Elections were disorderly affairs. Incumbents fought the skullduggery of partisan electoral juntas. During the election of June 1840, the Liberals gained control of a junta located in the parish of San Miguel. Senor Barrera, its president, forced the registrar to falsely certify that Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Amat was a resident of the district. During the nominations the president acknowledged the nomination of Amat, but refused to recognize those of his opponents. The proceedings came to an abrupt halt when Father José Aguirre of San Miguel arrived accompanied by a large crowd of his parishioners, declared the election illegal, dissolved the junta and announced new elections. Fearful of a riot, the Liberals withdrew, indignantly complaining that the priest

[illegible] parish-
[illegible] [33]

[illegible] the regular army demonstrated another method of dealing with a partisan electoral junta He marched his fully armed regiment from their barracks to the distant *manzana* in which he resided ordering them to vote in formation for the candidate of his choice The junta formally complained that the troops were not residents of the *manzana* that they earned less than $200 annually, and that their presence intimidated the junta and eligible voters [33]

When threats failed, politicians resorted to violence during the elections of 1842 eight armed men entered a voting booth, seized the ballots, and wounded a registrar who resisted them The incident led the arch conservative Carlos María Bustamante to huffily remark and that is how a [illegible] people exercise the most sovereign act of their [illegible] rights [34] The Liberals termed the secondary elections in September 1849 into a "Plaza de Toros" by violently [illegible]ring and hospitalizing many Monarchist electors [35]

Influential Liberals shared the Conservatives distaste for the rowdy elections Lorenzo de Zavala criticized the unconstitutional referendum of 1824 because the poor voted on their traditional leaders bade them or traded their votes for aguardiente or pulque [36] Mariano Otero disliked the demagogery of the liberal electoral triumphs of 1829 and 1833 [37]

complained that the poor picked their heroes at the polls the same manner that they decided the champion of a street fight[38] This view was shared by the editors of *Monitor Republicano* who wrote that the poor were merely the tools of the political parties and were very fickle because they were attracted to men and not issues[39] As early as 1837, more disgusted with the tumult, corruption and disorders of indirect elections--suggested that the electorate be severely restricted by high property qualifications[40]

Judged by its own standards the system of indirect electing was a failure It encouraged the formation of shaky alliances that distorted the opinion of the political elite The elections of July 1848 provide an excellent example of the process Monarchists and Conservatives attributed their victory to a groundswell of popular sentiment[41] In reality it was due to the inexhaustiveness of the liberal electors who formed a majority at the secondary elections[42] Moderados and Puros, however, fell to squabbling among themselves Puros--fearing that the Moderados who formed a relative plurality, would carry the *ayuntamientos*--joined forces with the Monarchists and Centralists to elect a monarchist *ayuntamiento*[43]

National governments abrogated the results of unfavorable elections After a liberal victory in 1842 General Santa Anna dismissed the electors and called for a new election

Noting the highhandedness Carlos María Bustamante commented that any election was a useless extravagance as long as Santa Anna controlled the army [44] In June 1833 Valentín Gómez Farías dissolved the centralist ayuntamiento and appointed a federalist one A year later Santa Anna reinstated the Centralists [45] The law of 1836 allowed an incumbent ayuntamiento to reelect itself indefinitely, a provision as advantageous to the federalists as it was to the Centralists [46]

The Liberals held the reputation of being the party of the Scots-Christes [47] There was little in the liberal ideology attractive to the poor It was extremely vague and intricate Most of the party's supporters were hostile to clerical and Hispanic elements and hence identified themselves as members of the party of progress Their vacuity led the wags to say that an aspiring liberal had an image of the Virgen de Guadalupe on the crown of his sombrero and an obscene plan to regenerate the nation in his pocket [48] The policy delineated in the writings of Mora which Gómez Farías attempted to implement called for the creation of a civil militia to reduce the power of the army, the expropriation of Church property, and its eventual redistribution among the middle classes the disestablishment of the Church to reduce its political influence, and the creation of a federation to ameliorate the dangers to republicanism inherent in a centralized state [49]

The mely liberal pol[illegible] point was the tariff protectio[illegible] meet mf the party In 1828 [illegible] dutimmms to his cause by prop[illegible] tle imputation of foreign manu[illegible] lomument mhows that the Libermls used thm issue to gulld[illegible] r orr im preperetion for the consstitutiemel refermendum of 18

> Oer enemmes bring in rhmir rear guard
> mumerous megazines mf their mammfacteres
> te order to protect their industry end
> to mnchilate mem workshops eed mer
> agriculture so thet by enlmrging the
> wealth of eer country, the government
> will be effmrmd more certain resources
> then rhmse lent by the meritime customs
> subject to klmmkede eed contraband end
> so that we cne evail merselves of the
> good order mf eer iedmerrial mstehlish-
> mert
>
> Let the Republic impeem upne its
> eopponters the obligation to prefer
> mecloeel mamufacteres to rhmse of the
> fomeigners ie etder to evoid the flight
> of capital and to fever rhm occupetise
> of mem meeefecrering clems hecemse indus-
> try is the fmree which makes nations
> strmng and powerful, and for ther reesse
> emlightemed governmmers eed peeplee heve
> advenced all indeetrial bmeeches
> at rhm cost of grent secrifimes and ie
> order ro impmse by way of mmmerce the
> [illegible]slavemeet of the pmmplm' There is en
> ot er origin eed mbject for the prosmer
> [illegible]war [illegible]

[illegible] however were ebdurate free tredere In Chepter [illegible] ored ther ecommic ecessity mften drove the best [illegible] ned regimes to ebemdon pretectionism

[illegible] taking [illegible] [illegible] on [illegible] equitable [illegible] was anathema to [illegible] 1 September 1846 Gómez Farías proposed that the [illegible] contribute their lives and the rich their wealth to the struggle against the United States The latter that the announcement treated among the most strident liberals resulted in its immediate retraction [57]

Pure determination to expropriate Church property [illegible] liberalism with economic radicalism Their intentions were not shared by the Moderados who viewed Church property as private property guaranteed by the federal constitution of 1824 [58] José María Lafragua Guillermo Prieto and Mariano Otero, all prominent Liberals, argued against the confiscations of 1847, claiming that the usurpation of private property must inevitably result in grossest violations of political liberties [59] All participated in the Revolution of the Polkos

The ultimate liberal goal was to create a propertied middle class through the distribution of Church wealth The liberality of their reputed hostility to property is illustrated by their behavior during October 1847 when a tumult of a riot against property swept through the city The liberal *Monitor Republicano* reported the tumult and editorialized on the patent immorality of attacking private property [60] The

peioniee [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] against the [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] arvents [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] beneyemies the ranks of the indepen-
dentie and Hidalgo bertaliens At the eews of the riots, all
three bertaliens hostily armed and tonk to the streets re-
seived to defeed private property against the piseton tioters [56]

The Liberals undeniably ceitivated lewer-class eepport Conservatives aiieged that the civil militia was armed rabble in the pay of their enemies Francisco Arrangaiz accused the militia of 1833 of being the sweepiegs of the jail and the lowest portion of society [57] Him accusation was echoed by Carlos María Bustamante who wrote that the *léperos* who existed in 1828 were the same class of men who formed the *cuerpos cívicos* of 1828 [58] The roster of civil militia called to active duty in May 1834 contains a polyglot of artisans, eeskilled iehorers, and merchants but very few professionals [59] Because the economic status of members of the same occupational groups varied greatly, the evidence of the roster is inconclusive

The issues of whether or not the civil militia received oak is more important than its social composition The militia's composition was nominal to avoid the danger of it evolving into a professional army The evidence suggests

[illegible] $5 monthly depending on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

In January 1847 the battalion formally purged [illegible] of exiles hostile to the Furos [65]

Estranged from the professional army [illegible], the Liberals needed the brute force of plebian riots. Lower-class rioting was a notorious part of [illegible] tumultuous politics In December 1828 the [illegible] helped the federalist civic militia to overthrow [illegible] Elliot Manuel Gómez Pedraza and celebrated by sacking and burning the Parián Ten years later they flooded the streets in a vain effort to force centralist president Anastasio Bustamante to restore the Federal Republic In 1844 their rioting thwarted an attempt of General Antonio López de Santa Anne to establish a dictatorship Five years later the mob's fury frightened a moderate *ayuntamiento* into resigning

The sack of the Parián introduced rioting to republican politics Its violence stirred the memories of the propertied classes Nobody who witnessed the destruction forgot it Francisco Ibar, a professor of painting, recalled the looting two months after it occurred

> One could see in the streets *léperos* burdened with their loot, soldiers and officers with sabres in hand wandering to their homes the fruit of their perfidity and ambition! The strongest and most daring preyed upon the weakest, overpowering them and stripping them of their loot

[redacted] the ab[redacted] human cannib[redacted]

Guillermo Prie[redacted] the time of the revolution wrote of the [redacted]

> Upon the [redacted] temple of good taste [redacted] the multitude of the furies of the [redacted] let [illegible] a sewage inva[redacted] tetts and insignitas
> They broke d[redacted] doors flung jewelry and fine lace [redacted] ground, smashed stronghuxes to pieces wounded each other and snatched themselves martyrs off their backs and neither delirium nor fire nor earthquake could give an idea of that invasion to the eternal shame and opprobrium of its authors [47]

The monster the fear of the masses always lurked in the minds of the ruling classes regardless of political affiliation. As the city's garrison marched off to put down a federalist uprising in October 1832, the *ayuntamiento* debated whether the six hundred men of the Security Corps and the Corps of Invalids were sufficient to cope with all the conspiracies that exist for a marking [48] In July 1840 Fanny Calderón de la Barca expressed the fears of the foreign community that a federalist victory would bring in its wake looting and looting; [49] In December 1846 rumors spread through the city that a riot against property was imminent [76] Two years later rumors that upon the evacuation of the city by

North American troops, the [illegible] o "War of the Castes to nommit mord[illegible] eobbety, [illegible] types of crimes" unnerved the ayuntamiento.[71]

The sackings feared in 1832 and 1841 n[illegible] happened. The rumor of the riot against property served to [illegible] political deception aimed at delaying or impeding [illegible] constitutional convention.[72] The emste was feared in 1848 b[illegible] a feeble effort of Santanistas wishing to discredit the Federation and repudiate the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.[73] The obsession of rioting on these occasions proves that the propertied classes exaggerated the significance of the Parián. The following analysis will argue that the riots were a traditional relatively harmless form of lower-class protest harnessed to the seeds of liberal politicians. Although a menace to propertied regimes they did not endanger the existing social order.

Rioting is a traditional and universal method of expressing lower-class discontent over such basic matters as impressment or high food prices.[74] In Mexico City seemen rioting to protest hard times broke out as early as 1624 and 1692.[75] After independence bread riots occurred during the copper currency devaluations of 1837 and 1841. The riots followed a common pattern. Crowds formed in front of the ayuntamiento to protest the coming prices. Executive to the suffering of the people and mindful of the potential damage of a riot, the municipality would ineffectually

[illegible] the mob might [illegible] or threaten the government The mob of 1837 chanted in derision

> Jesus Christ in his passion
> made the thief an honest man...
> the Congress by its pleasure
> makes the honest man a thief ??

What one violence was offered against the government or its representatives The mob's targets were always the maize or grocery stores whose high prices or hoarding it considered to be the immediate source of suffering ??

As long as politicians remained aloof from the riotous the political order was unthreatened The political fragility of the bread riot and its potential for politicization is illustrated by a petition of the ayuntamiento to the national congress in 1837 It noted that although the rising prices had driven Querétaro's poor to suck their granary Mexico City's poor remained calm The petition warned, however, that if food remained scarce, the upheaval of grave seriousness to the political order was bound to occur ? Not because the riotous themselves were subversive but because

> the enemies of actual institutions who
> never miss an opportunity whenever they
> can to contribute with their mischievo-

[redacted] taking m[redacted]
[redacted] ([redacted]
[redacted] the mo[redacted]

[redacted] 1828 Mo[redacted]
[redacted] pu t or the competitio[redacted] m eyn end
[redacted] formegn manufecetnres [6v] Im February
[redacted] the outhoritmes eseduoted mass mmmoste
& Tvagrants and those without work to occnpy themselves '
The vegreamy problem of thesn years forced the national
government to estnblish the Tribunal de Vagos It was
dnrmng the March 1828 ontavagreamy campnmgn that regidom du
a Cadena yemund his defense of thn unemployed artisans of
the vurds andms his supervision [61] On Novenhec 20, sammmuly
two weeks bafnmm the revolution, thm governor gnnrnl of the
Distrito Fednal responded to a shortage of money by pegging
the price nf fnndstuffs [62]

Guillermo Palmos and Nicato Zamacome attributed thm
Great Popular Revolution of 1844 entirely to the politicml
oppressmons of Canecol Santo Anne and Gnnmnal Canalizo [63]
Thny ignomed the extnnmdnnmny snfferings chat the profil
gate and benkrupt nngime inflicted upon the poor dnnnnnbud
in thim letter to *Siglo Dinm y Nueve*

> Thm lovest clnsnes were principolly
> thnse who suffnnnd The onnrms hnnnd

[redacted] were driven for
[redacted] olds to [redacted] and
[redacted] means of Vera

[redacted] the problems it
[redacted] am with [redacted]
[redacted] matic his quest [redacted]

> many miserable persons and unpaid civil servants ambled aimlessly outside the building muttering over their fare An infinity of poor people searched anxiously for bread maize and anything that they could eat The bakeries were guarded in order to contain the actions of those unfortunates tormented by their misery and everything was worsened because the merciless speculators devalued the copper money [45]

The year 1844 saw no improvement In the spring the *Semanario Artístico* petitioned the government to alleviate the problems caused by its bankruptcy [46] Throughout the summer and fall, the pages of the official newspaper were filled with the government's protests that it was not responsible for its insolvency and lame promises that it will pay the bureaucracy [47] On November 15, two weeks before the printing the commissioner of markets announced to the *ayuntamiento* that the price of foodstaffs had inexplicably risen 7 percent in a single day [48]

[illegible] a Republi[illegible]
[illegible]mpending Spa[illegible] invasion
[illegible] subv[illegible]ontinued remained t in Mexicm[illegible]
[illegible]eptember 1827 Father Ar[illegible] Spanish priest [illegible]mmunicated
[illegible]ntermined scheme to rest[illegible] the Bourbons and was ex-
[illegible]ed for his efforts Moving t[illegible] Anti-Spanish presentt[illegible] the
[illegible]n-nt of General Guadal[illegible]pe V[illegible]rotia relentlessly
[illegible]d [illegible]rme expelling the Spaniards but deliberately
[illegible]n ocmm it

[illegible]ears of inte[illegible]so political factionalism pre-
[illegible]t [illegible] Revolution of the Acordada The Centralists whose
members were organized into the Scottish-rite Masonic lodge
and hailed the Emmons, opposed the countrmiist Spanish mon-
archistm of 1812 and would permit the Spaniards to remain in
Mexico The Federalists who were members of the York-
rite Masonic lodge and called Yorkinos wished to preserve
the federal Constitution of 1824 and expel the Spanish
In the presidential elmctiom of 1828 Manuel Cõmez Pedraza
o Centralists defeated Vicente Guerrero, a Yorkino, by one
electoral vote Accusations were rife among Yorkinos that
Cõmez Pedraza had used his powers as minister of war to
rig the primary elections [49] On November 30 1828, disgruntled

[illegible] the regular army and a large [illegible] Acapulco to begin the first naval [illegible] Mexico's [illegible] tical history

Quintana Roo de Zavala, the Yorkran most intimately associated with the Revolution of the Acapulco insisted that a coordinated conspiracy never existed and that the [illegible] was spontaneous [90] The secret meetings of the Yorkr[illegible] documents reveal that for a year prior to the revolution[illegible] it was preparing to preserve the Federation by every means at its disposal In October 1827, Lucas Alaman and [illegible] Arrota, then the municipal *síndicos* noting that the conspiracy of Father Arenas presaged further Spanish subversions urged the strengthening of the civic militia [91] In the following year Alderdan became a regidor and the commander of the militia's artillery battalion Alluding to the Spanish threat, regidor de la Cadena suggested in July 1828 that the *alcaldes auxiliares* be appointed on the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Federation By spring the strengthening of the civic militia was in progress and absorbing an unduly large portion of its commander's time In May, regidor de la Cadena declined an appointment to the Theater Commission because it would interfere with his duties as commander of the infantry battalion [92] In the light of the *ayuntamiento's* militant preparations the protestations of De Zavala that the rising occurred spontaneously challenges credulity

[illegible] Centralists needed [illegible] base support [illegible] of the Republic was again at stake [illegible]rnment General Santa Anna, disgusted with the continual [illegible]ticism of his regime by the press and the national legis[illegible]ture attempted to abrogate the conservative Bases Orgánicas [illegible] impose a military dictatorship. While Santa Anna was [illegible] the bulk of the army in Querétaro suppressing an [illegible]rrection General Cagalizo, the interim president, [illegible] legislature. On December 3 he demanded that [illegible] electors take an loyalty oath to the regime [93] In a defiant mood the national legislature moved to the monument of San Hipolito and debated the deposition of General Santa Anna. While packed galleries listened to the inflammatory oratory of the deputies businessmen closed and crowds milled dangerously in the streets [94] Some rioting broke out that the city's garrison did not attempt to contain. By December 5 the troops had declared in favor of the rebellious deputies and General Cacelize had fled the city. On December 7 the countaminados publicly thanked the people and the garrison for their contributions to the victory [95]

The direct role of the politicians in provoking the riots of 1844 was well known. The day after the closure of the congress two liberal deputies were in the barrios haranguing and organizing the people for a riot [96] José María Lafragua, a liberal statesman wrote that shrieking

[illegible] ntamiento [illegible] e success of [illegible][7] The *ayuntamiento* [illegible] ptunily did its share of rabble rousing On November 30 it debated the feasibility of publicly declaring its adherence to the federalist Pion de Jeisco Negidat Cañedo the *ayuntamiento's* sole Sontenista opposed the move on the grounds that the *ayuntamiento* was not supposed to involve itself with politics A public declaration in favor of the plan, Canedo warned would rodu e politics to the "logic of the tavern or café, teine an idol to the pinbe and cause a popular mutiny Mocking t e banalities ehjuntions the rebels published the plan[8]

Men as well as hunger rallied the poor to the liberal causes They possessed a cadre of men of "great influence in the [illegible]ities" whose nonspiritorial meetings presaged every [illegible]g[9] Lunas Baldero the military leader was influential [illegible]ortisa s[10] Manuel de la Cadena defended the nonmilitary in the *montales* under his supervision against arbitrary impressment and imprisonment as vagrants José Merfo del Rio the owner of a pastry shop personally organized the rioting of 1849[11]

Other Liberals displayed an earthy *machismo* that the common people loved Wealthy young Juan José Paz while serving as a judge once fined a *lépero* Angered by the sentence the *lépero* insulted Paz and challenged him to a fist fight The young judge accepted the challenge threshed his opponent and magnanimously paid the fine[12] Gómez Farías

[illegible] fully mercenaried crowds and once led on all occasions end armed battalion of civic militia against a rebel regiment [103]

The poor venerated the human symbols of the independence movement manipulated by the Liberals They idolized Vincente Guerrero because he was a mestizo military hero [104] The following quotation from Guillermo Prieto [illegible] to be their understanding of the Revolution of the [illegible]

> President Victoria who is in the palace supports Gómez Pedraza, and the Yorkanos with Zavala, governor of the state of México and Lobato wishes that the black Guerrero, who fought with the old insurgents rule us at all costs [105]

Guerrero was deposed and executed by the followers of Anastasio Bustamante in 1830 During the Bustamante coup of 1832 against Bustamante the poor thought for the downfall of the government whose 'infamous treason killed their hero [106]

Father Hidalgo, the leader of the 1810 rebellion against the Spaniards, was another plebian hero The election of the monarchist *ayuntamientos* in July 1845 did not alarm the poor The Monarchists however sealed their fate on September 16 when their newspaper, the *Universal* published an editorial vilifying Father Hidalgo and his followers [107] Liberal politicians publicized the editorial in the *barrios* and exploited the consequent anger in later rioting. [108]

[illegible] explains [illegible] of the [illegible] and Guillermo Prieto [illegible] as *léperos* meaning that they belonged to [illegible] class rather than to the ranks of the honrat laboring poor. Francisco Arrangoiz makes the distinction more explicitly:

> The people did not take part in these movements even when as in the capital, they were exhorted to participate in the sack upon which only that portion of evildoers who are the scum of society delivered themselves to it and they abound in all the great cities of the world--not the laboring people, the honored artisan victim like the highest class of the crimes of that table and undisciplined subsidiary [illegible]

Naturally the political beneficiaries of the riots identified their allies simply as the people (*pueblo* *gente del pueblo*). Unfortunately the police records available to George Rudé when he identified Parisian and English rioters are unavailable in Mexico.[148] In Chapter Six however, the *léperos* were defined not as a criminal class, but as a cross-section of the laboring poor driven to crime and vagrancy by underemployment and unemployment.

Serious looting and murder undeniably occurred at the Parián. In later years federalist leaders tried to minimize its extent. Were maintained that the rioting, in which five

[redacted] comports— [redacted] the Lord Gordon Riots [redacted] the provincial palace when the [redacted] broke out [redacted]

[redacted] on he com[redacted] the fir[redacted] ll—E no[redacted] [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

[illegible] inaugurate [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible] all the [illegible] looting of merchants by militiamen during the two months of anarchy that followed the revolution [121]

The controversy stirred by the Parián's looting, masks the basic intentions of the plotters. Lacking a political philosophy or a long range goals, they vented their rage upon the visible symbols of unpopular regimes. The Parián was the logical target of the victorious insurgents of 1823. It represented the colonial monopoly of commerce and industry and potential Spanish subversion. Within its walls in 1808 the Spaniards plotted the arrest of Viceroy Iturrigaray who had ingratiated himself to native Mexicans by cultivating their friendship [122] In 1823 Mexicans owned most of the market's stalls but its association with the Spaniards and conspiracy was still strong. Two Yorkino [illegible]diputados explained the mob's fury:

> It is said that it is an object of the people's hatred because it was believed that the Spaniards were the Parián's sole tenants: they held their secret meetings there and forged all their plans and conspiracies to wrench liberty, insult us, and place us forever under insupportable tyranny. For the same reason, the people detested the building because it was the fortress of dominating tyranny for which they wanted to remove it from sight or try to destroy it as many times as they could [123]

Gener[illegible] of 18[illegible] [illegible]ble targets [illegible]ctober. [illegible]rning of December 2 [illegible] Santa A[illegible] [illegible]laza del Volador was [illegible] the white gown of [illegible]-[illegible]uals a tightened [illegible]e dangling from its neck [illegible] [illegible]hat day the mob tore down another statue of the [illegible]l that stood in front of the national theatre.[125] It [illegible] [illegible] to the national cemetery where it disinterred ha[illegible] Santa Anna had left to a French cannon ball at Vera Cruz and dragged it good-naturedly in the direction of the Plaza del Volador. The plaza's merchants feared pillaging, but to their relief the mob only wished to tear down the second statue of the dictator. A captain of the Grenadiers accompanied by a few soldiers usually proceeded the rioters to disperse after leading them in a few 'vivas' for the Federation. They returned again that night but by then the doors of the stalls were shuttered and the authorities had wisely removed the offending statue.[126] On December 7, the day that General Canalizo resigned, shops were opening for business and the people returning to work.[127]

The targets of the rioters of 1845 were the homes of the monarchist *ayuntamiento*. Except for the opening of windows, little violence occurred. The entire affair took on a carnival atmosphere as military bands accompanied the rioters and government agents exploded rockets.[128] Similar

[illegible] d [illegible]rsal Santa Anna's [illegible] regime (1831 [illegible]

August 13 1855, the mob sacked the offices of the mon[illegible] newspaper *Universal* and the homes of the dictator and [illegible] chief ministers It spared, however, a grocery store and a tailor shop that adjoined the homes When a liberal agent ordered them to stop their spokesman indignantly replied that they were not robbing but punishing the traitor [illegible] had sold the Mexilla [129]

Francisco López Cámara has stated that the partisanship of dictates in revolutions was often decisive [130] His statement is incorrect The key to a successful rising was military support Rioting served only to intimidate the indecisive or weak The Yorkinos of 1828 had at their disposal three battalions of civic militia and elements of the regular army Combat experience were rendered to a military fashion [131] Civilians aided insurgent troops by moving cannon, carrying munitions, and evacuating wounded [132] The rioting of December 1832 reached "very serious" proportions but failed because the capital's garrison remained loyal to the government [133] In 1844 the bulk of the army was at Querétaro and the mob roaming in the streets persuaded a weak and partially subverted garrison to declare its loyalty to the national congress The rioters of 1849 and the fall support of General Mariano Arista the liberal minister of war who wished to avoid the blatant dissolution

[illegible] national [illegible] not the Monar[illegible] [illegible] government [illegible] aged the [illegible] [illegible] afragua stated the [illegible] of military [illegible] described how anxieties [illegible] preparing [illegible] coup [illegible] General Parades [illegible] Arrillaga (August 4 1844)

> But my material elements were very slight because the Liberals had neither money nor soldiers, necessary ingredients for every revolution The truth is that public opinion was ours, but public opinion does not win revolutions [136]

The Liberals were ashamed of their association with [illegible] Salado Álvarez, the chronicler of the fall of General Santa Anna's last regime, wrote that treating was justified to drive tyrants from office but 'stains the enthusiasm for popular triumphs' [137] More himself issued the most damning indictment writing that because of the Parián's destruction the Yorkina's moment of victory was also their moment of defeat [138]

The attraction of the poor to liberal causes was illusory Cloaked in passive indifference they welcomed the downfall of every regime that their treating placed in power Reduced to misery by economic depression and political anarchy they became progressively disillusioned with the [illegible] José María Lafragua described the difference between

e patt[illegible]

c apathet[illegible]

[illegible] ll the en-
c [illegible] ample who
have been demeaned a [illegible]d times and
who fear the revolutions because of the
press gangs taxes and oppressions [139]

Notes

[illegible]ores *México* tomo 1 p 458

[illegible]tchinson p 72

[illegible]CM tomo 283

[illegible]Hutchinson p 72

'Noticias *Monitor Republicano*, 17 enero 1847 ; [illegible]

[illegible]AACH tomo 168 "Actas de 14 enero 1847 "

'Noticias, *Monitor Republicano*, 16 enero 1847 p [illegible]

[illegible] Noticias,' 17 enero 1847, p 4 Mala[illegible] tomo 1, p 311

[illegible] Noticias," 16 enero 1847, p 2 AACH, tomo 300 [illegible]tas de 14 enero 1847 "

[illegible]AACH tomo 2266, "Sesión de 14 enero 1847 " Noticias, [illegible]ero 1847 p 4

[illegible]AACH, tomo 168, 'Actas de 14 enero 1847 '

[illegible]AACH tomo 2279 exp 1

[illegible]Michael P Costeloe, "The Mexican Church in the Re-[illegible] of the Pelkes," *Hispanic American Historical Review* [illegible] 1966, pp 170-78

[illegible]Lafragua pp 44-47

[illegible]'Elecciones," *Monitor Republicano* 18 junio 1844, [illegible]

[6] AACM, tomo 873, exp. 19.

[7] "Elecciones," *Monitor Republicano*, 19 julio 1849, p. 3.

[8] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 2, ley 841.

[9] *Ibid*., tomo 3, ley 1796; tomo 4, ley 2581.

[10] AACM, tomo 873, exps. 2, 3; tomo 862, exp. 8. Dublán and Lozano, tomo 4, ley 2581.

[11] Lorenzo de Zavala, *Ensayo histórico de las revoluciones de México desde 1808 hasta 1830*, 2 tomos (París, 1845), tomo 1, p. 279.

[12] AACM, tomo 873, exp. 3.

[13] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 3, ley 1796, tomo 4, ley 2581.

[14] AACM, tomo 873, exp. 13.

[15] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 2, ley 841. AACM, tomo 841, exp. 15.

[16] "Elecciones de ayuntamiento," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 10 septiembre 1848, p. 2. "Partidos políticos," *Monitor Republicano*, 28 junio 1849, p. 3.

[17] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 3, ley 1796, tomo 4, ley 2581.

[18] AACM, tomo 3411, 3412.

[19] Dublán and Lozano, tomo 2, ley 841.

[20] AACM, tomo 873, exp. 3.

[21] "Elecciones," *Universal*, 29 septiembre 1849, p. 2.

[22] AACM, tomo 872, exp. 10.

[23] *Ibid*., exp. 11.

[24] Bustamante, *Apuntes*, p. 42.

[25] "Elecciones secundarias," *Universal*, 11 septiembre 1849, p. 3.

[26] De Zavala, tomo 1, p. 279.

[27] Otero, *Ensayo*, p. 70.

[28] "Elecciones de ayuntamiento," p. 2.

[29] "Partidos políticos," pp. 3-4. De Zavala, tomo 1, p. 45.

[30] Haro, *México*, tomo 1, p. 284.

[31] "Elecciones secundarias," *Universal*, p. 3.

[32] "Elecciones," *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 19 julio 1849, p. 3-4.

[33] "Elecciones," *Monitor Republicano*, 19 julio 1849, p. 3-4.

Bustamante, *Apunte[illegible]*

[45] AACM, tomo 862[illegible] c[illegible]

[46] Dublen and Lozano[illegible] 1[illegible]796

[47] Carlos María Bustam[illegible]ón de México[illegible] López de Santa Anna ([illegible]; 1832), p [illegible]

[48] Prieto (1964) p [illegible]

[49] Mora, *México*, tomo I[illegible]

[50] AACM, tomo 2266, p [illegible]

[51] Bustamante *Invasión* p 7

[52] Zamacois, tomo 12, p[illegible] 517

[53] "Rumores?" *Monitor Republicano* [illegible]ero 18[illegible]

[54] Lafragua, pp 44 47

[55] "Rumores?" p 3

[56] Tumulto," *Monitor Republicano* [illegible]ubre 1846

[57] Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz, *México desde [illegible]* 1857 4 tomos (Madrid, 1871-1872), tomo [illegible] p [illegible]

[58] Bustamante, *El gabinete*, tomo 2, pp [illegible]

[59] AACM tomo 3275, exp 113

[60] AACM, tomo 3274, exp 105

[61] "Remitido," *Monitor Republicano*, 18 noviembre [illegible]

[62] AACM, tomo 3274, exp 91

[63] Bustamante, *El gabinete* tomo 2, p 64

[64] "Revolución" *Monitor Republicano* 26 febrero 1847, p 3

[65] "Guardia nacional" *Monitor Republicano*, 14 febrero 1844 p 3

[66] Francisco Ibar, *Muerte política de la república mexicana* (México, D.F. 1829), tomo 2 p 20

[67] Prieto (1964), p 34

[68] AACM tomo 152, Actas de 12 octubre 1832 "

[69] Calderón de la Barca, p 303

[70] AACM, tomo 168, "Actas de 12 octubre 1846

[71] AACM tomo 168, "Actas de 10 mayo y 23 mayo 1848 "

[72] Remitido," *Monitor Republicano*, 18 octubre 1846

[1]

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[illegible] George Rudé, [illegible] y (New York 1964)

[illegible] 24 G M Trevelyan, [illegible] the Age of Wycliffe (New York 1963)

[illegible]

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[illegible] 26 AACM, tomo 3284, exp 14

27 Zamacois, tomo 11 p 132

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29 *Ibid*

30 Chávez Orozco, *Documentos* 'Introducción'

31 AACM, tomo 4151 exps 4 5

32 Ibar p 3

33 Prieto (1964) p 365 Zamacois tomo 12, p 498

34 Remirez 'Siglo Diez y Nueve, 29 diciembre 1844

[illegible]

35 Bustamante *Apuntes* p 33

36 'Compromiso,' *Semanario Artistico* 27 abril 1844, p 2

37 *Diario Oficial*, nos 3350-439 (agosto-noviembre 1844)

38 AACM, tomo 165, 'Actas de 15 noviembre 1844

39 De Zavala tomo 2 pp 48, 49

40 *Ibid* tomo 2, p 82

41 AACM tomo 3274 exp 105

42 AACM tomo 290, Actas de 4 enero y 6 mayo 1828

43 Zamacois, tomo 12, pp 349 68

44 Prieto (1964), pp 365 71

45 AACM, tomo 165 'Actas de 7 diciembre 1844'

46 Bustamante *Apuntes* pp 361-65

47 Lafragua, p 32

48 AACM tomo 165 "Actas de 30 noviembre 1844 "

49 Zamacois tomo 12 p 8

50 Cuevas pp 178 82

51 Prieto (1964), p 298 Holm, tomo 1, p 342

[illegible]

[illegible] Manuel [illegible] *Los gobernantes de México* [illegible] Mexico, D. F., 1873), tomo I

[illegible] De Zavala, tomo 2, pp. 48-49

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[illegible] Zamacois, tomo 13, p. 296

[illegible] De Arrangoiz, tomo 2, p. 114

[illegible] Rudé

[illegible] Mere. *México*, tomo 1, p. 8. The Lord Gordon Riots (June 2-9, 1780) were in protest of the passage of the Catholic Relief Act by the British Parliament.

[illegible] Lorenzo de Zavala, *Juicio imparcial sobre los acontecimientos de México en 1828 1829* (México, D. F., 1830), pp. 19-20

[illegible] José María Tornel y Mendivil, *Breve reseña histórica* (México, D. F., 1852), p. 393

[illegible] Flores and Gamboa, pp. 18-19.

[illegible] Germán Carrera Damas, "Sobre el significado socioeconómico de la acción histórica de Bolívar," en Comisión Organizadora del Cincuentenario de Caracas, *Materiales para el cincuentenario de Caracas* (Caracas, 1964).

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[illegible] Zamacois, tomo 11, pp. 693-706

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[illegible] AACM, tomo 291, Actas de 5 enero 1829."

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[illegible] Flores and Gamboa, pp. 16-17

[illegible] Bustamante, *Apuntes*, p. 360

[illegible] Prieto (1964), p. 365

[illegible] *Historia y Vocabulario de la Lengua Tarasca* [illegible]

[illegible] olución," *Hispania* [illegible] dic[illegible]

[illegible] AACM tomo 864 exp 44

[illegible] Salado Álvarez pp 396 97 400 Th[illegible] g to the sale of the Mesilla Valley to t[illegible] in 1853 The transaction is known in the [illegible] Gadsden Purchase

[illegible] López Cámara "Los fundamentos" p 232

[illegible] José Ignacio Paz *Estupenda grita de la Aco[illegible]* (México D F , 1829), pp 10-25

[illegible] De Zavala *Juicio*, pp 19-20

[illegible] Zamacois, tomo 12 p 171

[illegible] Mala, tomo 1 p 347

[illegible] AACM tomo 863 exp 44

[illegible] Lafragua, p 37

[illegible] Salado Álvarez p 400

[illegible] Mora, *México* tomo 1 p 81

[illegible] Lafragua p 54

PROFILES OF MANZANA 57 AND MANZANA 6(

TABLE A-1

[illegible], MANZANA 57 [illegible]

	[illegible]	Artisan	[illegible]	[illegible]
Manzana 57	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Manzana 60	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the [illegible] random sample of the census of 1849, AACM

TABLE A-2

HABITATIONAL PROFILE, MANZANA 57 AND MANZANA 60

	% in House	% in Apartment	% in Accesoria	% in Room	% in Shack
Manzana 57	3	5	9	79	3
Manzana 60	6	0	0	92	2

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the random sample of the census of 1849, AACM

TABLE A-3

RENT PROFILE, MANZANA 57 AND MANZANA 60

	% Paying $0-1.0	% Paying $1.1-2.0	% Paying $2.1-3.0	% Paying >$3.0
Manzana 57	19	67	11	4
Manzana 60	16	59	22	3

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the random sample of the census of 1849, AACM

Table [illegible]

BUSINESSES, MANZ[illegible]

[illegible]97	Manzana 80
2 pawnshops	2 starch factor[illegible]
1 public bath	3 blanket and [illegible] weaving shop
2 soda factories	1 carriage mak[illegible]o
1 carpentry shop	4 grocery stores
1 weaver's shop	1 grocery store and pawn-shop
pulque stalls	1 pork butcher's shop
1 grocery store	
1 butcher shop	
maize store	
1 [illegible]k spinner's shop	
1 paper dying shop	

SOURCE: A C N [illegible]tamos 82, 84[illegible] "Padrones de establecimientos industriales, 1843"

APPENDIX B

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

TABLE B-1

[illegible] ESTABLISHMENTS [illegible]

Warehou[illegible]	[illegible]
Council [illegible]	[illegible]
Slaughter hous[illegible]	35
Honey shops	6
Sugar shops	9
Haberdasheries	84
Bookshops	14
Glass and fine china store[illegible]	12
Silk shops	54
Shoe stores	23
Clothes and linen stores	64
Wine shops	46
Ironware stores	30
Candle shops	16
Hebcco shops	17
Chocolate shops	17
[illegible]et stores	[illegible]
Hay stores	[illegible]
Straw shops	53
[illegible]rime shops	[illegible]
Coal and charcoal dealers	1[illegible]
Tax chandler shops	3
Pottery stores	23
Glass and china pottery stores	[illegible]
Fruit stalls	[illegible]1
New clothes stores	1
Clothing rental and storage	16
Used furniture warehouses	[illegible]
[illegible]w furniture warehouses	14
New and used furniture warehouses	1[illegible]
Wooden yard stores	1
Used clothing stalls	5
Lumberyards	13
Sweet shops	23
Pastry shops	3[illegible]
Confection shops	[illegible]
Leather shops	[illegible]
Artificial flower shops	[illegible]0
Dormy rental warehouses	31
Bakeries	17
Fulque shops	3[illegible]3
Butcher shops	1[illegible]3
General stores	501
Mixed grocery stores	373

SOURCE: AGN tome 85, Listo de calificaciones del Derecho de Patente, 1843 [illegible]

TABLE B-2
[illegible]N MOST COMMON INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, 1843

	Number	%
[illegible]	165	10
[illegible]	113	6
[illegible]	64	4
[illegible]ng	30	2
[illegible]	62	4
[illegible]e	52	3
[illegible]	45	2
[illegible]	38	2
[illegible]	13	
[illegible] making	52	3
[illegible] silversmithing, [illegible] making	49	2
[illegible] and averaging processing [illegible] instruments	109	6
	10	
[illegible]ting shops	22	1
[illegible]age factories	15	
[illegible]tress factories	9	

SOURCE: AGN, tomos 83 84. "Padrones de establecimientos industriales 1843."

TABLE B-3
WORK FORCE OF CARPENTRY SHOPS, 1843

[illegible]rymen	Apprentices	Journeymen	Apprentices
	1	3	0
	3	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	2	0
	0	0	0
	2	0	0
	0	2	2
	0	1	0
	0	6	0
	0	2	0
	0	4	0

AHCH, tomo [illegible] de establecimientos de [illegible]ria. 1845.

TABLE E-4
INVENTORY OF CARPENTRY SHOP WORTH $[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] wheel with pinion
[illegible] 3/4 yards in length
[illegible] r frames
[illegible] r spouts
[illegible]'s trays
[illegible] of old linen
[illegible]d plate
[illegible] former tables
[illegible] f old cedar
[illegible]ll tables
[illegible]r u'kless spinel
[illegible]l' i sh
[illegible] ll door
1 dou[illegible] case
1 large box
1 gate
2 small chunks of wood
5 dozen tin plates
1 wooden strip
1 dozen wooden chair railings
14 small doors
1 carpenter's bench

SOURCE AACH, tome 2889, "Centre Carmén Lorid[illegible] 185[illegible]

TABLE E-5
CAPITAL INVESTED AND LABOR FORCE OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS, CENSUS OF 1849

Type	Investment	Income (Weekly)	Labor Force
Needle factory	130	$ 8	4
Tinsmithing	5		4
Tapestry shop	10	4	1
Tailor shop	40	6	8
Leather working	150	6	6
Silversmithing	90	5	7
Lathe shop	100	5	2
Carpentry shop	20	4	1
Paint shop	30		1

TABLE B- [illegible] continued

Type	Inv[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Carpentry shop	100	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tailor shop	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Carpentry shop	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hair shop	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tailor shop	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chocolate shop	100	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dairy	10	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sock making shop	5	[illegible]	[illegible]
Carpentry shop	10	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tailor shop	50	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lard shop	10	[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour shop	150	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tailor shop	300	7	6
Leather working	None	Scarcely enough to pay for food	
Bakery	8,000	[illegible]	8
Press	200	7	2
Pastry shop	185	9	2
Blacksmithing shop	20	10	[illegible]
Carpentry shop	500	[illegible]	8
Carpentry shop	1 000	[illegible]	5
Coppersmithing	1 000	[illegible]	2

SOURCE: AACH, exmo 3606 "Padrón industrial de 1849 manzana 32, 44, 142, 239 "

APPENDIX C

SALARIES AND WAGES

TABL
CIVIL SERVICE [illegible]

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteri[illegible] y Policía	
Minister	$6,000[a]
First officer	4 000
First officer	3 000
Second officer	2,000
Second officer	2 000
Second officer	1,000
Second officer	1 000
Second officer	1 000
Second officer	1 000
Second officer	900
Second officer	800
Archivist	1,000
Assistant archivist	900
Clerk	400
Porter	600
Office boy	200

Oficio de Contaduría y Propios	
Accountant general	3 000
Second chief	2 000
Third auditor	1,000
Fourth auditor	1,000
First official of auditing	700
First official of statistics	700
Second official of auditing	600
Third official of auditing and archivist	500
Scribes (3)	400
Office boy	192

Bureaucrat's average annual salary $700
Artisan's average annual earnings 156

SOURCES Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público, *Memoria de 1844* (México, D F , 1844) Ayuntamiento de México. *Memoria de 1845* (México D F , 1845)

[a]Annual wages

		Female	
[illegible]oachman	[illegible]	[illegible]	$ 1_ [illegible]
[illegible]chman	4_ [illegible] (W_R)	Servant	0_5 (W R)
[illegible]rvant	[illegible] (H,R)	Servant	0 4 (W,R)
[illegible]nt	[illegible] (M,R)	Servant	0 4 (W R)
[illegible]achman	[illegible] (M,R)	Servant	0_4 (W,R)
[illegible]r	5 [illegible] (M_R)	Servant	0_5 (W R)
[illegible]	5_0 (M,R)	Servant	0_5 (W R)
[illegible]r	1_ [illegible] (M)	Cook	5_4 (M R)
[illegible] boy	4_0 (M_R)	Maid	5_4 (M R)
[illegible] boy	12_0 (M)	Maid	5 0 (M R)
r or	12_0 (M)	Chambermaid	4_0 (M R)
rvant	8 0 (M)	Maid	3_0 (M_R)
rvant	8 0 (W)	Cook	3_0 (M R)
ervant	6 0 (M,R)	Cook	12_0 (M)
Servant	1,4 (M_R)	Servant	3 0 (M R)
Coachman	8 0 (M,R)	Servant	3 0 (M R)

Waddy Thompson paid his servants who resided at his house

Cook	$ 4,0-6,0	Housekeeper	$8 0 -10 0
Coachman	15 0 20 0	Chambermaid	3 0 -4 0
Waiter	15,0	Sculline	3,0-4 0

SOURCE Industrial census of 1849, AAGH tomo 3406

[illegible]E M = month W = week, R = resides with employer

TABLE C-3
WEEKLY WAGES SKILLED

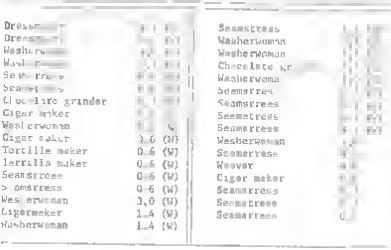
[illegible] (?)	$2 0	Tailor	$3,0
[illegible]r	4 0	Carpenter (10)	3,0
[illegible]m (8	3 0	Turner	3_0
[illegible] r [illegible]ker (6)	4 0	Tailor (6)	3_0
[illegible] ( )	3 0	Printer (3)	3_0
[illegible] (	3 0	Soap cutter	8 0
[illegible]r (1)	2_2	Tailor	4,0
[illegible]	3_0	Tailer	3 0
[illegible]	4_0	Printer	3 0

[illegible] ntinued:

[illegible]	$3.3
[illegible]	7.4
[illegible]	6.0
[illegible]	4
Painter	5
Br[illegible]	1.0
Carpenter	3
Tailor	1.0
Weaver	1.0
Weaver	1.4
Shoemaker	1 5
Tailor	1.0
Carpenter	1
Tailor	0
Tailor	1.0
Carpenter	
Leather worker	
Shoemaker	1.0
Carpenter (6)	1
Shoemaker	1
Carpenter	3.0
Shoemaker	3.0
Harness maker	1
[illegible] r	
[illegible]	3.4
[illegible] r	4.4
[illegible] aker	1.0
[illegible] Baker	
[illegible] tor	6.0
[illegible] nter	4.4
[illegible] nter (5)	5.2
Blacksmith	2.1
[illegible] n	4.4
Tailor	1.4
Carpenter (5)	3.6
Coppersmith	7.2
Tailor	4.4

Ma[illegible]	[illegible]
Wea[illegible]	[illegible]
Tinsmith	[illegible]
Carri[illegible]	[illegible]
Bla[illegible]	[illegible]
Lmco[illegible]	[illegible]
Silver[illegible]	[illegible]
Cigar [illegible]	[illegible]
Tailor	[illegible]
Weaver	[illegible]
Stonecut[illegible]	[illegible]
Carria[illegible]	[illegible]
Esterbr[illegible]	[illegible]
Shoemak[illegible]	[illegible]
Weaver	[illegible]
Weaver	[illegible]
Meat cutter	[illegible]
Leather wor[illegible]	[illegible]
Baker	[illegible]
Tailor	[illegible]
Tailor	[illegible]
Wig maker	[illegible]
Printer	[illegible]
Tailor	[illegible]
Tailor	[illegible]
Shoe maker	[illegible]
Carpenter	[illegible]
Silversmith	[illegible]
Carpenter	[illegible]
Policeman	[illegible]
Carpenter	[illegible]
Armorer	[illegible]
Silversmith	[illegible]
Glove maker	[illegible]

SOURCE: Industrial census of 1849, AACM, Item 3406



SOURCE Industrial census of 1849 AACM, Roll 3406

NOTE W = weekly

APPENDIX D

[illegible]LATION ESTIMATES AND GROWTH

TABLE E 1
ESTIMATES OF MEXICO CITY S POPULATION, 1811-1857

Source	Year	Estimates
Padrón de Juzgado de Policía	1811	168 846
Ayuntamiento	1813	121 807
M E		140 000
Fernando Navarro y Noriega	1820	179 830
Jos[illegible] R Poinsett	1824	150 000-160 000
Inst Nacional de Geog y Est	1838	205 430
Brantz Mayer	1842	200 000
Thomas J Farnham	1846	200 000
Juan Nepumuceno Almonte	1852	170 000
Lerdo de Tejada	1856	185,000
Antonio Garcia Cubas	1857	200 000

SOURCE Keith Davies "Tendencias demográficas urbanas durante el siglo XIX en México," *Historia Mexicana* (octubre diciembre 1972), p 501

TABLE D-2
MEXICO CITY NATURAL POPULATION GROWTH, 1839-1845

Year	Born	Died	Increase/Decrease
1839	6 639	5 638	1 001
1840	6 524	8,154	1 630[a]
1841	6 860	5,249	1,611
1842	6 056	5,304	752
1843	7 120	6 244	876
1844	7 113	5,950	1,163
1845	7 542	5 772	1,770
Total	48 454	42 911	5 543

Average annual population growth 790

SOURCE Ayuntamiento de México, *Memoria de los ramos municipales 1845* (México, D F 1847)

[a]The population deficit of 1840 was due to a revolution that claimed 137 civilian lives and a smallpox epidemic that killed 1 878

TABLE 3

F THE AYU[illegible]TUTO DE MÉXICO, 1824-1846

[illegible]	Estimate
[illegible]	168 000
[illegible]	145 000
[illegible]	160 000
[illegible]	174 000

SOURCE: A[illegible] [illegible] 11 15; tomo 863 exp 38; tomo 873 x

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

TABLE E-2

[illegible] SAMPLE OF 1849, MIDDLE/UPPER CLASSES

[illegible]	Number	[illegible]
[illegible]	41	3 [illegible]
[illegible]	34	[illegible]
Shopkeeper	27	[illegible]
Army [illegible]	25	[illegible]
Student	22	[illegible]
Large [illegible]	15	[illegible]
Minor [illegible]	14	1 0
Middle-rank civil servant	13	1 0
Montreal lawyer	9	0 [illegible]
Sales clerk	9	0 7
Broker	9	0 7
Clergyman	8	0 6
Banker	6	0 4
High civil servant	6	0 [illegible]
Elementary schoolteacher	5	0 4
Govt. office clerk	5	0 4
Musician	5	0 4
Religious	4	0 3
Professor	4	0 3
Pub owner	4	0 3
Hotel manager	4	0 3
Pharmacist	3	0 2
Law clerk	3	0 2
Medical assistant	2	0 1
Legal advisor	2	0 1
Head of small firm	2	0
Branch manager	2	0 1
Café/lunchroom owner	2	0 1
Restaurant operator	1	0 1
Veterinarian	1	0 1
Miner	1	0 1
Sculptor	1	0 1
Artist	1	0 1
Music teacher	1	0 1
Member lower house	1	0 1
Department manager	1	0 1
Office manager	1	0 1
Manager	1	0 1
Credit manager	1	0 1
Livestock broker	1	0 1
Unspecified	1	0

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the re[illegible], of 1849; AACM; [illegible] 3406

NOTE: [illegible] members! [illegible] ly livi[illegible] Income to [illegible] of comme[illegible] Although h[illegible] middle/upp[illegible] group if [illegible] e house criterion for inclusion i[illegible] th group w[illegible]en. The computer results indicated that this [illegible]sive 26 percent of the populat[illegible]. But since nea[illegible]t of the group paid rents of $3 or less it w[illegible] that the computer results inflate the percentage [illegible]s middle/upper classes. The true percentage is pro[illegible] nearer to the nineteenth-century estimate of 20 percent. This group was readily distinguished from the merely poor by its European life style.

TABLE E-2
RANDOM SAMPLE OF 1849 SKILLED

Occupation	Number	%
Shoemaker	94	6 9
Tailor	82	6 0
Carpenter	52	3 8
Mason	50	3 7
Baker	46	3 0
Weaver	43	3 0
One-man stand owners	24	1 8
Painter	21	1.5
Printer	14	1.0
Tinsmith	11	0.8
Jeweler	11	0 8
Independent artisan	11	0 8
Blacksmith	10	0 7
Hat maker	10	0 7
Leather worker	9	0 7
Watchman	7	0 5
Beef butcher	6	0 4
Tanner	6	0 4
Skilled construction	6	0 4
Cook	6	0 4
Potter	6	0 4
Cabinetmaker	5	0 3
Turner	4	0 3
Dyer	4	0 3
Metal processor	4	0 3
Policeman	2	0 1

TABLE [illegible]

Occupation	[illegible]
Knitter	[illegible]
Embroiderer	[illegible]
Forging press [illegible]	[illegible]
Goldsmith	[illegible]
Mail carrier	[illegible]
Boatsman	[illegible]
Prison guard	[illegible]
Paper maker	[illegible]
Machine tool operator	[illegible]
Watchmaker	[illegible]
Plumber	[illegible]
Lithographer	[illegible]
Plasterer	[illegible]
Smelter	[illegible]
Wood trenture	[illegible]
Cooker	[illegible]
Financial clerk	[illegible]
Bill collector	[illegible]

SOURCE Compiled and computed b[illegible] From th[illegible] of 1849 AAGM tome 3406

NOTE: The basic criterion for cl[illegible]tion as an artisan was the possession of an occupat[illegible], a period of formal apprenticeship Altho[illegible]n masons were described as *populachm* in the Russo[illegible] essay they have been classified as artisans b[illegible] tanners were represented on the Junte de Foment [illegible] and because the masons referred to themselves [illegible] their artisanal trades Although it was impossible [illegible] the master artisans from the journeymen on the census of 1849 it is safe to assume that the great majority of [illegible] counted were journeymen Included within this [illegible], although not artisans, are merchants paying between $4 [illegible]7 in monthly rent and the holders of occupations possessing a modicum of social prestige The entire group represented 72 percent of the economically-active male population And 87 percent of these in the four two occupational categories

TABLE F

[illegible]PLE OF 1849 [illegible]

[illegible]	Number
[illegible]	76
[illegible]	52
[illegible]	29
[illegible]	24
Jan[illegible]	3
Agri[illegible]ral laborer	17
Nonm[illegible] mineral pro[illegible]	14
Barber	8
Coachman	7
Wagoner	7
Harrender	6
Driver	6
Food and beverage producer	5
Tramster	5
Fiber preparer	5
Sexton	4
Other producers	4
Grinder	4
Musical entertainer	2
Whiter	1
Vegetable grower	2
Unskilled factory hands	
Newspaper vendor	1
Money lender	1
Fisherman	1
Beverage maker	1
Boatman	1
Street sweeper	1
Wax chandler	10
Cigar maker	10

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1849, AACH, tome 3406

NOTE: The unskilled class comprised nearly 23 percent of the entire economically-active male population and 38 percent of the lower-class male population. Their percentage in the entire population is very close to the estimates of the number of *déperce* in the population. Because many of the poorer artisans and unskilled laborers lived in the streets, in ruins, or areas otherwise unaccessible to the enumerator, the number of artisans and *populache* is underrepresented in the sample survey.

VAGRANTS AND CRIMINALS

TABLE F-1

[illegible] CRANTS, 18[illegible]

[illegible]	Number	[illegible]
Shoemaker	111	19 9
Tailor	[illegible]	8 7
Mason	[illegible]	7 0
Weaver	[illegible]	6 2
Carpenter	[illegible]	4 3
Baker	1	2 5
Blacksmith	[illegible]	2 0
Leather worker	[illegible]	2 0
Confectioner	[illegible]	[illegible]
Stonecutter		1 0
Printer		[illegible]
Comb maker	[illegible]	[illegible]
Candy maker	[illegible]	[illegible]
Potter	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gilder	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pulque dealer	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tanner		[illegible]
Spinner		[illegible]
Turner		[illegible]
Tinsmith		[illegible]
Painter		[illegible]
Stone carver		[illegible]
Butcher		[illegible]
Soap cutter		[illegible]
Brickmaker		[illegible]
Lace maker	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hat maker		[illegible]
Tile maker		[illegible]
Dyer		[illegible]
Glazier		[illegible]
Gold lamé maker		[illegible]
Armorer	1	[illegible]
Batidores	1	[illegible]
Comandrador	1	[illegible]
Mail carrier	1	[illegible]
Minter	1	[illegible]
Dyer	1	[illegible]
Cord maker	1	[illegible]
Glove maker	1	[illegible]
Purse maker	1	[illegible]
Metalworker	[illegible]	[illegible]
Butcher	1	[illegible]
Wig maker	1	[illegible]
Foreman	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Cooper	[illegible]
Cake fr[illegible]	[illegible]
Box maker	[illegible]
Silversmith	[illegible]

SOURCE Compiled [illegible] from AACP[illegible] roman 4151-56, 4778-88

TABLE F[illegible]
SUSPECTED VAGRANTS 1[illegible] [illegible]LLED

Occupation	Number	%
Peddler	31	5.1
Servant	16	[illegible]7
Street porter	13	2.2
Coachman	11	1.8
Barber	7	1.2
Tanner	7	1.[illegible]
Waiter	7	1.2
Water carrier	5	0.8
Wage laborer	5	0.8
Wagoner	4	0.7
Fulle[illegible] or meat porters	4	0.7
Pork butcher	4	0.7
Stump seller	4	0.[illegible]
Drover	3	0.5
Rule seller	3	0.[illegible]
Stench maker	1	0.[illegible]
Mourner	1	0.[illegible]
Street sweep	1	0.2
Soda maker	1	0.[illegible]
Errand boy	1	0.2
Street singer	1	0.[illegible]
Ironman	1	0.[illegible]

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACP [illegible] 4151-56[illegible] 4778-88

TABLE F-3
CONDEMNED VAGRANTS, 1828-1852, SKILLED

Occupation	Number
[illegible]	12
[illegible]	12
[illegible]	8
[illegible]	6
[illegible]	5
Baker	5
Weaver	4
Imasher [illegible]er	2
Stonecutter	1
Purse [illegible]	1
Minter	1
Dyer	1
Blacksmith	1
Turner	2
Purse maker	1
Lace maker	1
[illegible] maker	1
Farmer	1
[illegible] maker	1
Total	66

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AAO[illegible] tomos 4151-56, 4778-88

TABLE F-4
CONDEMNED VAGRANTS, 1828-1852 UNSKILLED

Occupation	Number
Peddler	7
Street porter	4
Servant	2
Cigar maker	2
Barber	2
Wagoner	2
Coachman	2
Vegetable grower	1
Waiter	1

[illegible]

[illegible]	Number	[illegible]
Park [illegible]	1	[illegible]
Drover	1	[illegible]
Servant	1	[illegible]
Errand boy	1	[illegible]
Total	97	[illegible]
Unknown	6	[illegible]

SOURCE: Compile[illegible] [illegible] b[illegible] e [illegible] [illegible]
towns 4151-5[illegible]

TABLE F-5
CRIMINALS, MINOR WARD 17 1828-1852 SKILLED

Occupation	Number	%
Tailor	31	15.0
Shoemaker	30	15.0
Weaver	22	10.7
Sailor	13	6.[illegible]
Carpenter	13	6.[illegible]
Confectioner	7	3.[illegible]
Baker	6	2.[illegible]
Hat maker	4	1.9
Leather worker	3	1.4
Stonecutter	3	1.[illegible]
Butcher	3	[illegible]
Blacksmith	2	[illegible]
Button maker	1	[illegible]
Glovemaker	1	[illegible]
Spinner	1	[illegible]
Turner	1	[illegible]
Metalworker	1	[illegible]
Minter	1	[illegible]
Doll maker	1	[illegible]
Chair maker	1	[illegible]
Comb maker	1	[illegible]
Shawl maker	1	[illegible]
Tile maker	1	[illegible]

TABLE F-[illegible]ntin[illegible]

Occupation	[illegible]
Shopkeeper	[illegible]
Cooper	[illegible]
Sailor	[illegible]

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM, roll 282, 69.

TABLE F-6
PROPERTIED MINOR WARD 17, 1828-1852, UNSKILLED

[illegible]	Number	%
Porter	15	7.0
Wax chandler	6	2.9
Fisherman	6	2.9
Servant	4	1.9
Meat cutter	4	1.9
Charcoal vender	3	1.4
Wage laborer	4	1.9
Drover	3	1.4
Water carrier	2	.9
Peddler	2	.9
Waiter	2	.9
Pork butcher	2	.9
Guard	2	.9
Sweat washer	2	.9
Coachman	1	.5
Soap maker	1	.5
Milk vender	1	.5
Sidewalk musician	1	.5
Salt maker	1	.5

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM, roll 282, 92

TABLE 1

[illegible]S OF CONVICTS [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mason
Shoemaker
Weaver
Carpenter
Leatherworker
Chair maker
Baker
Painter
Tile maker
Tailor
Meat butcher
Steward
Stone worker
Glove maker

Unskilled

Drover
Laborer
Street entertainer
Belt maker
Street merchant
Servant
Street porter
Water carrier
Powder maker
Wax chandler

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by [illegible] AACM... [illegible] 2885-92

500-YARD RING/1 000-YARD CIRCLE PROFILES

TABLE G-1
COMPARISON OF POPULATION OF INNER 500 YARD CIRCLE
WITH OUTER 1,000 YARD RING

Population

Circle = 17% of total population
Ring = 83% of total population
Total cases = 1,364

Occupational composition of circle and ring

	Upper	Artisanal	Unskilled
Circle	35	33	25
Total cases = 225			
Ring	24	41	25
Total cases = 1,125			
Unknown = 14			

Distribution of occupational categories among circle and ring

	Circle	Ring
Upper	22	78
Total cases = 225		
Artisanal	19	87
Total cases = 573		
Unskilled	18	81
Total cases = 318		
TOTAL CASES = 1,116		

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1843, AACM, tome 3404

TABLE 4-2
COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIES OF INNER 500-YAR[illegible]
AND OUTER 1 000 YARD RING

Distribution of industries	% Total Indust[illegible]
Circle	32
Ring	68
Total cases = 2 000	

Assessment of taxes:	% Assessed Taxes	% Net Assessed Taxes
Circle	55	45
Ring	21	79
Total cases = 2 000		

SOURCE: AGN tomos 83, 84, "Padrones de establecimientos industriales, 1843"

APPENDIX H

PLAZA/BARRIOS PROFILES

TABLE H-1

[illegible] BARRIO OCCUPATIONAL PROF[illegible]

	Upper	% Artisan	[illegible]
[illegible]		42	24
		32	22
Barr[illegible]		50	25
Total	[illegible]		

Distribution of occupational categories

	% in Traza	% in Barrios
Upper	70	30
Artisan	38	62
Unskilled	48	52
Total cases 1,384		

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1843, AACM tomo 3406

TABLE H-2

CITY TRAZA, BARRIO HABITATIONAL PROFILE

	% in Houses	% in Apartments	% in Accessories	% in Single Rooms	% in Shacks
City	18	15	15	47	3
Traza	35	20	19	32	1
Barrio	11	9	10	62	6

Total cases 1,342

Distribution of habitational types

	Traza	Barrios
% in houses	70	30
% in apartments	69	31
% in accessories	65	35
% in single rooms	35	66
% in shacks	17	83
Total cases 1,342		

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from the census of 1843, AACM, tomo 3406

TABLE 4-1

[illegible], BARRI [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Distribution of rents

[illegible] paying $0 1.6	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] paying $1.7-2.4	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] paying $2.5 5.0	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] paying $5.1-10.0	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] paying over $10.0	81	[illegible]
Total cases = 1 009		

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from [illegible] of 1849 AACH roma 3406

AGE AT DEATH 1842 1844 1850

TABLE I
GE AT DEATH

Age Br	Numb r	
1 3	1 71	
3 7	1	
7 20	1 7	
20-25	5	
25 30		
30 35	11	
35 40	13	
40 45		
45-50		
50 55		
55-60	1	
60+		
Total cases 4 925		
Average age at death 30		

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the m AACH tomes 723-24

TABLE I-2
AGE AT DEATH 1844

Age Bracket	Number	%
1-3	1,712	
3-7	282	6
14-12	142	
20- 1	287	
21-25	241	5
25-30	367	
30 35	184	
35-40	363	7
40-45	183	
45-50	308	
50 55	115	
55-60	301	6
60+	488	1

[illegible]

[illegible] cases 4[illegible]
[illegible] age at d[illegible]

SOURCE Compil[illegible]
tome 725

TABLE I-3
AGE AT DEATH[illegible]

[illegible] Di[illegible]ert	Number	[illegible]
[illegible]10 yrs	2,163	38
11-[illegible]	337	6
[illegible]-30	791	14
31-40	737	13
41-50	630	11
51-60	519	9
61-70	31	[illegible]
71-80	127	
81-90	47	1

Total cases 5,701
Average age at death 28

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACH tom 733

NOTE: Excludes deaths from cholera

APPENDIX J

[illegible]LS OF DEATH, 1842 1844

TABLE J 1
[illegible]TS OF DEATH, 18[illegible]

Disease	1842	%	1844
Pneumonia	653	14	641
Dysentery	549	12	520
Fever	391	8	470
Convulsions	375	8	444
Tuberculosis	192	4	182
Costa*e*	150	3	111
Measles	2		7
Smallpox	19		8
Scarlet fever	8		130
Total	2,349		2,513
Others	2,325		2,329
Total	4,674		4,842

SOURCES: Compiled and computed by the author from AAC[illegible] 723-26

*Costa*e, or pleurisy, is usually a symptom of typhoid typhus, measles, scarlet fever or smallpox

TABLE I-2
DEATHS OF CHILDREN, THE SAGRARIO 1842

	% Age 0-9	% Over Age 10
Alferecia	17	
Dysentery	11	8
Stroke	11	
Whooping cough	10	
Mal interior	7	
Inflammation	6	
Diarrhea	3	3
Tifico	3	
Angina	2	
Empacho	2	
Fever	4	
Pneumonia	3	20

TABLE

	Age 10
Hydrope	
Dropsy	13
Convul	7
Cretado	
Tubercu	
Others	
Total no	83
% of all	

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACH texts 723 724

APPENDIX K

PERIODICITY OF DISC[illegible]

TABLE K-1
MONTHLY PERCENTAGES OF PNEUMONIA DEATHS, 1842, 1844, 1848

Month	1842	1844	1848
Jan	7	12	8
Feb	8	17	9
Mar	9	11	16
Apr	26	6	11
May	5	4	5
June	10	6	8
July	7	6	8
Aug	6	6	5
Sept	2	8	5
Oct	5	5	7
Nov	7	14	6
Dec	9	7	11
Total deaths	107	102	130

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM, tomos 723, 725, 729

TABLE K-2
MONTHLY PERCENTAGES OF DYSENTERY DEATHS, 1842 1844, 1848

Months	1842	1844	1848
Jan	2	6	9
Feb	5	4	6
Mar	7	9	13
Apr	4	7	19
May	8	6	6
June	10	10	10
July	6	15	19
Aug	14	21	4
Sept	9	6	1
Oct	7	6	4
Nov	5	6	8
Dec	8	3	1
Total deaths	111	67	79

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from AACM tomos 723 725, 729

Month	[illegible]	1848
Jan	1	5
Feb	[illegible]	8
Mar	[illegible]	9
Apr	[illegible]	9
May	[illegible]	8
June	[illegible]	9
July	[illegible]	10
Aug	[illegible]	10
Sept	8	9
Oct	8	[illegible]
Nov	5	10
Dec	9	6
Total deaths	4 674	[illegible]

SOURCE [illegible] compiled [illegible] from AACM [illegible] 723 [illegible]

APPENDIX L

[redacted] MANZANA 57 AND MANZANA 60

TABLE L-1
[illegible] ACF/SFX [illegible]

Age	Male	[illegible]
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
30-34		
35-39		
40-44		
45-49		
50-54		
55-59		
60+		
Total [illegible]		

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACM tome 3813

TABLE L-2
MANZANA 60 AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTION

Age	% Male	% Female
0-4	8	7
5-9	6	6
10-14	4	5
15-19	7	5
20-24	4	7
25-29	4	6
30-34	5	6
35-39	3	7
40-44	3	4
45-49	2	3
50-54	1	2
55-59	1	1
60+	2	2

Total population = 1 357

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACM tome 3804

TABLE L-3
MANZANA 57, MIGRANT POPULATION

[illegible]	% Male	% Female
[illegible]	0	0
[illegible]	9	2
[illegible]	2	0
[illegible]	1	2
[illegible]	3	9
[illegible]	10	12
[illegible]	8	9
[illegible]	4	6
[illegible]	6	7
65 [illegible]	0	2
50-5[illegible]	2	6
55+	1	4

Total immigrants = 179

SOURCE Compiled and computed by the author from AACM[illegible] tomo 3413

TABLE L 4
MANZANA 60[illegible] MIGRANT POPULATION

Age	% Male	% Female
1[illegible]	2	1
5 9	2	3
11-14	3	3
15-19	2	5
20-24	4	7
25-29	3	10
30 34	8	8
35-39	3	5
40-44	5	6
45-49	2	2
50-54	2	2
55+	3	3

Total immigrants = 486

SOURCE Compiled and comp ted by the author from AACM[illegible] tomo 3409

TABLE L

[illegible] OF MIGRANTS [illegible]

[illegible]	Total No	[illegible]	Female Migrant	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	67	24%	51
[illegible]	[illegible]	73	27	58
[illegible]	[illegible]	43	57	57
[illegible]	[illegible]	77	28	23

TABLE L-6

[illegible] OF MIGRANTS IN THE 20-39 AGE BRACKET

Age	Male			Female		
	Native	Migrant	Total No	Native	Migrant	Total No
20-24	73%	27%	48	70%	30%	95
25-29	77	23	58	65	35	85
30-34	66	34	71	67	33	81
35-39	70	30	40	70	30	55

MARRIAGE PERIODICITY AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

TABLE
[illegible] OF TOTAL [illegible]

Month		Month	
Jan	[illegible]	July	[illegible]
Feb	[illegible]	Aug	[illegible]
Mar	[illegible]	Sept	[illegible]
Apr	[illegible]	Oct	[illegible]
May	[illegible]	Nov	[illegible]
June	[illegible]	Dec	[illegible]

SOURCE: Compiled [illegible] measured by the author from [illegible] 723, exp 2

TABLE 4-2
CONTRAST OF TYPE 5 AND TYPE 9 FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Number of children as percent of total number of each family type

	1	2	3	4	5	6+
Type 5	36	24	16	13	7	4
Type 9	0	3	13	23	20	40

Percentage within each occupational group

	Artisan	Unskilled	Upper
Type 5	44	25	20
Type 9	23	3	40

Mean rent

Type 5 $ 9.0
Type 9 25.0

Total number of Type 5 families = 321
Total number of Type 9 families = 30

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the random sample of the census of 1849 AACH, cases 3409, 3413

TABLE M-3
CROSSTABULATION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE WITH RESIDENCE
IN TRAZA AND BARRIO

	Household Size						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
[illegible]	26%	19%	16%	13%	11%	6%	10%
[illegible]o	79	24	17	10	8	5	6

Traza total = 430
Barrio total = 451

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the random sample of the census of 1849 AACH, rumos 3409, 3413

NOTE Sample limited to households of over two members

TABLE M-4
CROSSTABULATION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE WITH OCCUPATION

	Household Size						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
[illegible]killed	28%	28%	17%	8%	5%	5%	5%
[illegible]killed	34	18	20	12	9	3	5
[illegible]e[illegible]tal/ [illegible]rofessional	23	17	14	13	11	10	12

Total skilled = 366
Total unskilled = 188
Total professional/commercial = 215

SOURCE: Compiled and computed by the author from the random sample of the census of 1849, AACH rumos 3409, 3413

NOTE Sample limited to households of over two members

OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF FREE SCHOOL PUPILS 1836

TABLE N-1

[redacted] LOCATED ON THE STREET OF SEVEN FA[redacted]

OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS 1836

[redacted]tth	1 brass maker[a]
[redacted]laborer	1 needle maker
[redacted]ool maker	1 candlestick maker
[redacted]enalers	1 wool washer
[redacted]ostrasses[a]	1 carriage maker
[redacted]avers	1 bookbinder
[redacted]penters	1 printer
[redacted]ilers	1 paymaster
[redacted]rtis makers[a]	1 oil maker
[redacted]et makers	1 chair maker
[redacted]ers	15 soldiers
[redacted]hers	12 domestic servants[a]
[redacted]r makers	11 laundresses[a]
[redacted]ak rs	5 clerks
[redacted]-[redacted]akers[a]	3 civil servants
[redacted]utchers	3 mariners
[redacted]n ths	3 barbers
[redacted]ths	3 painters
[redacted]p ers[a]	2 janitors
[redacted]k ts	1 key keeper
[redacted]k ers	1 penelerya[a]
[redacted]orkers	1 asphaltcoather[a]
[redacted] makers	1 watchman
[redacted]n strators	1 collector
[redacted]t operatives	1 rent collector
[redacted]ger makers[a]	1 policeman
[redacted]aks	1 notary
[redacted]lyer	1 clergyman [sic]
[redacted]natal rooter	1 gate guard
1 [redacted]laughterhouse worker	1 agent of Supreme Court
1 [redacted]administrator of slaughterhouse	1 convent administrator
	1 public carriage admanis trator
[redacted]pastry chef	
1 waffle maker[a]	1 poacher
[redacted]confectioner	1 vigilante
[redacted]illar	1 servant
[redacted]bakery administrator	1 fireman
[redacted]igar twister[a]	1 attorney
[redacted]weaver[a]	1 sculptor
[redacted]waffen grinder[a]	1 engraver
[redacted]colera [?][a]	1 auctioneer
[redacted]chandlate maker[a]	23 [redacted]ertaken
[redacted]fruiterer	1 rope peddler

TABLE M-1 continued

1 messenger	1 storekeeper
5 street porters	3 water carriers
carters	2 coachman
1 fireman	4 masons
1 watch maker[a]	1 merchant[a]
cooks[a]	1 butcher[a]

SOURCE AACM, tomo 2478, exp 152 Dorothy T[anke] Estrada, "Las casuelas lencastrinas en la Ciudad de México 1822-1842" *Historia Mexicana* vomo 22 no 4 pp 509-510.

[a]Indicates female occupations

APPENDIX O

FAMILY MUTATION

TABLE O-1
[illegible] OF ABRAHAM GARCÍA, SHOEMAKER

	Age	Position
[illegible]		
Pedro García	23	Husband
Guadalupe Hernández	32	Wife
Genero García	8	Son
Pilar García	2	Daughter
Manuel Pierce	1	[?]
1849		
Abrahem García	26	Husband
Guadalupe Hernández	24	Wife
Pilar García	8	Daughter
Petra García	5	Daughter
Felix García	2	Son
Juana Ibarra	56	[?]
Genero García	14	Son (shoemaker)

TABLE O-2
FAMILY OF BENITO GIRÓN, WEAVER

Name	Age	Position
1842		
Benito Girón	75	Husband
María Herrencia Ramírez	60	Wife
Juana Girón	31	Daughter
Juan Girón	7	Son
Gertrudis Marraqui	35	[?]

[illegible]

Name	Age	Position
1849		
María Norte [illegible]	50	Wife (widow)
Justa Cirón	[illegible]	Daughter
Juan Cirón	[illegible]	Son

TABLE O-3
FAMILY OF DOMINGO FLORES WATER CARRIER

Name	Age	Position
1843		
Domingo Flores	34	Father
Teodora Rosales	39	Wife
Ramón Flores	8	Son
José Miliciano	4	Son
Josefa Flores	13	Daughter
Justa Flores	2	Daughter
Cristobal Flores	17	Son or brother
José María Flores	10	Son
1849		
Teodora Rosales	45	Wife
María Josefa Guerra	20	(?)
Ramón Flores	12	Son
María	7	Daughter

TABLE O-4
FAMILY OF CRISTOBAL GALINDO - PORK BUTCHER

Name	Age	Position
1842		
Cristobal Galindo	48	Father
Feliciana Sánchez	33	Wife
Brigido Galindo	13	Son
Nicomer Galindo	7	Son
José María Galindo	4	Son
Juan Galindo	2	Son
Juan Galindo	2 months	Son
1849		
Cristobal Galindo	41	Father
Feliciana Sánchez	39	Wife
Nicomer Galindo	14	Son
José María Galindo	11	Son

VAGRANCY CODE AND CRIMINAL STATISTICS
1825-1852

[redacted] MARCH 2 [redacted]

Immoral Behavior

1. [redacted]e heir or a distinguished family that although possessing some patrimony or rent far from occupying himself with it- -devotes himself only to houses of gambling or prostitution- -frine the cafes and associating himself with persons of evil habits

2 The son of a distinguished family that does not obey or respect his parents or superiors and who displays various habits

3. The husband who mistreats his wife frequently without any motive, scandalizing the community by his conduct

4 Those who with words gestures, or indecent actions cause scandal in the public places or propagate immorality selling obscene pictures or sculpture, even when they have an honest occupation from which they live

5 Those who habitually play cards, roulette, tabs, or any other form of gambling in the places, doorways, or taverns

6 He who continually indulges himself in alcohol and philandering.

Willful Refusal to Work Regularly or Productively

1 He who lives without occupation, rent profit or lucrative profession with which to obtain subsistence

2 He who habitually begs alms, being healthy and robust or with some lesion that does not prevent the exercise of some industry

3 The invalid soldier that occupies himself by begging alms even though he is receiving a pension-

4 He who without any active refuses to work part of the year in his craft

5 The wage laborer who without any just cause works less than half of the working week and passes the remainder without honest occupation

6 The [illegible] night w[illegible] town with [illegible] occupation

7 He who although residing in his town [illegible] begging alms, either because he is an orphan [illegible] parents tolerate it

8 Those who with magic lanterns, trained animals [illegible] that games of chance earn their living travel [illegible] from one village to another

9 Those who travel from village to village with sweets to sell to children even if the sale of them earns enough to maintain them

10 Those who without being unfit for the exercise of any other office occupy themselves by reading broadsheets and selling lottery tickets

11 Professional swindlers

12 Those who subsist exclusively by serving as *hombres buenos* in the courts and those who are vulgarly called *cinterillos*

13 Those who with collection boxes, virgins or rosaries wander through the streets or from town to town asking alms without the permission of the ecclesiastical judge or governor of the department

14 Those who collect alms for Masses outside of the *atrium* or cemeteries of the churches

15 Those who play harps guitars, or other musical instruments in the wine shops restaurants or *pulquerías*

TABLE F-1
CRIME 1825

Crime	
Homicide	
Robbery	
Quarrels [illegible] arms	
Various [illegible] crimes	

SOURCE: Luis Manuel de Rivera *México en 1842* (Madrid, 1844).

TABLE F-2
CRIME, 1842

Crime	Male	Female	Total
Prostitution, adultery & [illegible] sexual offenses	312	179	491
Robbery	1,500	470	1,970
Quarreling and wounding	2,129	1,104	3,233
Quarreling and bearing arms	612	444	1,056
Homicide	70	17	87
Rape and incontinence	65	21	86
[illegible]ery	7	1	8
Gambling	3	0	3

Miscellaneous

1,927	Lesser crimes
17	Executions
113	Dead bodies found on the streets
834	Wounded requiring hospitalization

SOURCE: Brantz Mayer, *Mexico As It Was and As It Is* (New York, 1844).

TABLE [illegible]
CRIME[illegible]

	120
[illegible]al robbery	84
[illegible]ing	25
[illegible]	3
[illegible]d wounding	246
[illegible]arms	85
[illegible]scape	0
[illegible]ng	17
[illegible]ncy and adultery	403
[illegible]against public decency	318
[illegible]delinquency	0
[illegible]	
[illegible]traction	182
[illegible]toxication	1,544

[illegible]untenients de M[illegible]xic[illegible] (Mexico, D F

TABLE [illegible]
CRIME[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]le	Total
Robbery	1,800	590	2,390
Quarreling and wounding	93	1,805	1,898
Bigamy	71	203	274
Homicide	180	42	222
Incontinence	79	37	116
Forgery	11	3	14
Throwing vitriol	41	17	58
Lesser crimes	734	341	1,075

SOURCE R H Mason, *Pictures of Life in Mexico* 2 vols (Mexico, D F, 1852)

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